



# THE EXHORTATION TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK

*Al-Hathth 'alā al-Tijārah wa-al-Şinā'ah wa-al-'Amal*

By

*Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn Muhammād ibn Harūn*

**AL-KHALLĀL**

(234-311/ 849-923)

Translated With Introduction And Notes By

**GIBRIL FOUAD HADDAD**





THE  
*EXHORTATION*  
TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK

الْحِسْنَةُ حُلْمٌ لِّلْجَنَاحِ رَاهٌ فِي الْأَصْنَافِ أَعْجَمٌ وَالْعَيْنُ  
الْمُبَشِّرُ بِالْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذَا غَلَقَ الْمَرْأَةُ مَعَهُ إِذَا اتَّسَعَ

By  
ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN  
AL-KHALLĀL  
(234-311/849-923)

*Translated with Introduction & Notes by*  
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بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

قال الله تبارك وتعالى:

﴿ الَّذِينَ يُقِيمُونَ الصَّلَاةَ وَمِمَّا رَزَقْنَاهُمْ يُنفِقُونَ ﴾

﴿ أُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ حَقًا ﴾ من سورة الأنفال ٣-٤

*Those who establish worship and spend of what We bestow on them: Those are the true believers!*

(from Sūrat al-Anfal 8:3-4)

وقال رسول الله ﷺ :

«يَا عَمِرُ وَنِعْمَ الْمَالُ الصَّالِحُ لِلْمَرءِ الصَّالِحِ»

رواه الإمامان أحمد وأبو يعلى في مسنديهما وقال الهيثمي: رجاله رجال الصحيح

*“O ‘Amr! Righteous wealth for a righteous person is a wonderful thing.”*

Hadith of the Prophet narrated from ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ by Alḥmad and Abū Ya‘lā in their *Musnads* through narrators used in al-Bukhārī or Muslim.



## **Contents**

Abbreviations 5

Foreword by Dato' Dr. Adnan Alias 7

Foreword by Mufti Musa Furber 9

Introduction 11-41

About this book 11-12

Work in the world with abstinence in the heart 13-14

Imam Alīmad b. Ḥanbal and sufism 14-17

“Wealth is Part of Health” 17-19

Abū Bakr al-Khallāl 19-22

al-Dhahabi’s biographical entry on al-Khallāl 20-22

al-Khallāl’s terminology of hadith transmission 22-25

His shortest chains of transmission 25

Ibn Ḥajar’s “Forms of conveyance” of Hadith 25-26

Editions and manuscripts used in this book 27-30

Errors in Abū Ghudda’s edition 29-30

Grading of reports 30-31

Translator’s transmission chain for this book 31-33

Illustrations 34-41

Fig. 1-2: Damascus Ms. 116 frontispiece and first page 34

Fig. 3-5: Berlin Ms. frontispiece, first, and last pages 36

Fig. 6-8: Riyadħ Ms. frontispiece, first, and last pages 39

**THE EXHORTATION TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK**

**BY ABŪ BAKR AL-KHALLĀL** 43-98

Ibn Qudāma’s transmission chain to al-Khallāl 45-46

Trade and financial independence 46-49

Property maintenance and improvement 50-53

Financial self-sufficiency and work 53-56

Licitness (*halāl*) is not negotiable 56-58

The Prophets and *Salaf* worked for hire 57-58

Frugality and savings 58-59

Work is the prerequisite of the purest *ḥalāl* 60-63  
 Wealth and property are a help in religion 62-66  
 Joining between trade and worship is best 66-70  
 Prophets ate from the work of their hands 70-71  
 Earning a living and improving your finances is worship,  
     not *dunyā* 71-73  
 Supporting dependants is a categorical obligation (*fard*)  
     comparable to jihad, *tahajjud*, and *ṣiyām* 73-75

**The disliked status of eating too little and venturing into deserts without provisions 76-85**

The correct parameters of self-deprivation 76-79  
 Critiques of Sufis 79-80  
 No travel without provisions 80-85

**The proof against those who claim that they rely [on Allah] and then quit work 86-93**

Difference between reliance and idleness 86-91  
 To work oneself out of poverty is superior to taking charity  
     89-93

**Chapter on truthful reliance 93-97**

Absolute reliance is absolute faith 93-97

Biographical glossary of persons cited by al-Khallāl 99-122

Glossary of technical terms 123

Bibliography 125-128

Indices 129-158

Index of Qur'ānic Verses 131  
 Index of Hadiths 133-134  
 Index of other sayings 135-140  
 General index 141-155

About the Translator 157

## **Abbreviations**

Abū ‘Abd Allāh = Alīmad (b. Muḥammad) b. Ḥanbal

Abū Dāwūd = the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd

Abū Nu‘aym = his *Hilyat al-Awliyā’ wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Asfiyā’*  
unless otherwise indicated.

Ahmad = the *Musnad* of Imam Alīmad (Maymāniyya 1313/  
1895 six-volume edition) unless otherwise indicated

al-Haythamī = his *Majma‘ al-Zawā’id*

Ibn Mājah = the *Sunan* of Ibn Mājah al-Qazwīnī

al-Nasā’ī = the *Sunan* of al-Nasā’ī, also known as *al-Mujtabā*

The Nine Books = the two *Šaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim;  
the four *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī, al-Nasā’ī, Abū Dāwūd and  
Ibn Mājah, the *Muwaṭṭa’* of Mālik and the *Musnads* of al-  
Dārimī and Alīmad

The Six Books = the two *Šaḥīḥs* and four *Sunan*

al-Tirmidhī = the *Sunan* of al-Tirmidhī





## Foreword

This excellent annotated translation of the early classical book, Al-Ḥmad al-Khallāl's *Exhortation to Trade*, by the well-known scholar and translator, Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad, is a welcome addition to our recent series of translations of selected classical Islamic texts on economics, trade and livelihood.

These important texts provide for the discerning reader a clear vision and understanding of the precise relationship between abstinence from the world (*zuhd*) and involvement in the seeking of it (*kasb*). With this understanding and its translation into practice, the worker, businessman, farmer or professional will know how to seek their livelihoods in a manner that leads to their well-being in this world and their felicity in the next world, *in shā Allāh*.

I would like to express my appreciation to Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad for agreeing and finding time to undertake this important work, and to Dr. Adi Setia for recommending him to us, for indeed, he is most qualified for it. I would also like to thank our publication manager, Mr. Mohd Zain Abd al-Rahman, for commissioning and facilitating this important project to its timely and satisfying completion.

I have no doubt that readers will come away more enlightened about the meaning, function and purpose of working for a living, the importance of wholesome sources of income and revenues, and the moral imperative to avoid whatever that is illicit and doubtful, and thereby contribute more effectively to the positive flourishing of themselves and their communities.

Dato' Dr. Adnan Alias  
Chief Executive Officer  
IBFIM

## Foreword

by Mufti Musa Furber<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad's translation of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl's *Exhortation to Trade, Industry and Work* introduces readers to *fiqh*-based reliance on Allah and religious scruple (*wara'*) as it was conceived of and practiced by the earliest generations of Muslims.

One of the unique characteristics of Ḥanbalī legal literature is the extraordinary attention given to issues typically associated with etiquette, excellence, and virtue (*iḥsān*). While other schools tended to treat these issues as a topic outside of jurisprudence and to fall within tasawwuf, the Ḥanbalī school included these issues within its basic legal texts and developed a genre of legal literature known as *al-Ādāb al-shar'iyya*. Some aspects of this genre are already available to English readers through the writings of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jaylānī, whose *Ghunya li-Tālibi Tariq al-Haqq* is cited frequently within Ḥanbalī legal texts. Perhaps the best example of this genre is Ibn al-Muflīḥ's *al-Ādāb al-Shar'iyya*, which aimed to gather all previous writings in the genre within a single book. Ibn Muflīḥ's book was set into a thousand-line poem by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Mirdāwī in *Manzūmat al-Ādāb*; its most famous commentary is al-Saffārīnī's hefty

<sup>1</sup> Lead Researcher, Tabah Foundation (UAE); Associate, Straightway Ethical Advisory ([www.straightwayethical.com](http://www.straightwayethical.com)); graduate of Dār al-Iftā' al-Miṣriyya with expertise in science as well as Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanbalī *fiqh*. Published works include al-Nawawi's *al-Tibyān fī Ādāb Ḥamalat al-Qur'ān*, Ibn Ḥajar's *Nukhbāt al-Fikar fī Muṣṭalaḥ Ahl al-Āثار*, its commentary *Nuzhat al-Nāẓar Sharḥ Nukhbāt al-Fikar* and *Matn Abī Shujā'* in Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*.

*Ghidhā’ al-Albāb*. Many of the Ḥanbalī jurists responsible for gathering, recording, and organizing the school left writings within that genre including Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (the author of this work), al-Qāḍī Abū Ya‘lā, Ibn ‘Aqīl, Ibn al-Jawzī, and Ibn Qudāma al-Maqdīsī. Outside the works of Imam Aḥmad himself, one of the earliest examples of this genre is the present work: *The Exhortation to Trade, Industry and Work, the Rebuke of Those who Claim Trust in Allah by Abandoning Work, and the Proof that They are Wrong*. (May Allah grant them all His mercy.)

In translating this work Shaykh Gibril has relied upon manuscript sources as well as previous editions. Additionally, he has included much supplementary information to assist readers in understanding the text and introduce them to the Companions and Forebears who were cited in the text—may Allah be pleased with them and grant mercy to them all.

This translation is a significant contribution to the English corpus of Islamic literature. It is a welcome addition to the growing corpus of English-language Ḥanbalī texts, and its subject is one that has been of concern to almost every generation of the Muslim community. The translator’s adherence to sound research methods, sourcing, and—more importantly—the values and etiquette of Islamic scholarship ensure that this translation is both authentic and accurate, and that the author and his subject matter are treated with utmost respect.

May Allah bless the translator, the author, and all who read this text.

## Introduction

**G**lory, praise and gratitude are due to Allah Most High with abundant and fragrant blessings and salutations on His Beloved Prophet our liegelord Muḥammad and upon his family and all his Companions! This is an English translation and study of a brief handbook of 128 reports on the Sunniness of work, the work ethic, frugality, the maintenance of property, financial independence through *halal* income, and true reliance on Allah according to the Imam of jurisprudence Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164-241/781-855) and his predecessors and contemporaries as reported from his direct students by the earliest chronicler of his school, Aḥmad al-Khallāl. Entitled *The exhortation to trade, industry and work, the rebuke of those who claim trust in Allah by abandoning work and the proof that they are wrong* and subtitled *From the questions put to Imam Aḥmad (min masā'il al-Imām Aḥmad)*, the book highlights the latter's emphasis on the Prophetic recommendation that one should strive to eat and economise from the fruit of one's labour, especially through trade, handiwork or agriculture, rather than resort to handouts as mistakenly practised by dervishes, and rather than sufficing oneself—and oneself alone—with the bare minimum required for living. The whole edifice of this endeavour is the pursuit of lawful sustenance (*rizq halāl*) in the twin sense of food and income:

Do not scorn a penny (*fals*) you acquire by obeying Allah. You might buy with it beans that will hardly settle in your stomach before all your sins are forgiven. ... A man must scrutinise the provenance of his daily bread and the provenance of his dirham. Do the deeds of heroes!<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *al-Hathth* §§24, 36 (Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb, Muḥammad b. Muqātil, Sufyān).

Hence it comes as no surprise that one of the early masters cited here said: “I have been the jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my food for 60 years;”<sup>3</sup> and Imam Alīmad considered such vetting of one’s morsel the precondition sine qua non even of the Remembrance of Allah:

I [‘Umar b. Ṣalīḥ al-Ṭarāsūsī] went with Yaḥyā al-Jallā— he was said to be one of the *Abdāl*<sup>4</sup>—to see Abū ‘Abd Allāh Alīmad b. Ḥanbal. I asked him with Fawzān, Zuhayr, and Ḥarūn al-Ḥammāl around him: “Allah have mercy on you, Abū ‘Abd Allāh! By what do hearts grow soft (*bi-mā talīn al-qulūb*)?” He looked at his companions and winked at them then he lowered his head for a while. Then he looked up and said: “My son, by eating lawful food (*ya bunayy bi-akl al-halāl*).” I went to see Abū Naṣr Bishr b. al-Ḥārith<sup>5</sup> on the spot and said to him: “Abū Naṣr, by what do hearts grow soft?” He replied: “Behold! By the remembrance of Allah hearts become tranquil (*Sūrat al-Rā’ d 13:28*).”<sup>6</sup> I said:  
 - I have just come from Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s house.  
 - What did he reply to you?  
 - He said “by eating lawful food.”  
 - He has given the basis. He has given the basis.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *al-Hathth* §34 (Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī). I.e. I have scrutinised it both with regard to its lawful provenance and my absolute need of it.

<sup>4</sup> Substitute-saints, thus named because whenever one of them dies Allah replaces him with a substitute (*badal*) so that their number always remains forty. Most of them are in Syro-Palestine (al-Shām). See on them Haddad, *Forty Hadīths*.

<sup>5</sup> The famous Sufi master Bishr al-Ḥāfi. See biographical notices.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also *Allah has revealed a most excellent discourse, a uniform Book with paired admonitions, whereat shiver the skins of those who fear their Lord. Then their skins and their hearts soften to the remembrance of Allah...* (*Sūrat al-Zumar* 39:23).

<sup>7</sup> *Jā’ā bil-asl*, i.e. the inalienable foundation. Abū Nu‘aym (9:182 Fawzān mispelled “Fawrān”) and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 196 §31 “Bawrān”).

**Work in the world with abstinence (*zuhd*) in the heart**

Imam Alīmad lived a life of staggering simplicity and in the words of the arch-Imam ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Dārimī (181-255/797-869) “he bore with poverty for seventy years.”<sup>8</sup> More than that “he loved the poor and I never saw the poor that sat with him treated with greater honor and respect in any other gathering” (al-Marrūdhī).<sup>9</sup> Even more, he embraced poverty and considered it a litmus test between the *fitna*-bound slaves of the material world and the people of the hereafter:

Whenever Abū ‘Abd Allāh thought of death tears would rob him of speech. He would say: “Fear prevents me from eating and drinking but when I remember death everything in this world becomes contemptible to me.<sup>10</sup> It is food without food, clothing without clothing. Truly this life is just a few days! *Nothing is as precious to me as poverty (mā a‘dilu bil-saqri shay'an)*. Would that people abandoned us. The path (*al-tarīq*) is what Bishr b. al-Hārith followed ... Glory to Allah, patience in poverty! patience in poverty! (*subḥān Allāh al-ṣabr ‘alā al-saqr!*) Nothing is as precious to me than patience in poverty. Do you know how much difference there is between the one who is given from this world so that he is seduced, and the one from whom the world is kept at bay?<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Abū Nu‘aym (9:176); Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (5:288); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 244).

<sup>9</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 272 §51).

<sup>10</sup> Abū al-Dardā' said to a group of bereaved mourners at a burial: “Pity them—tomorrow’s dead weeping over today’s dead” in Abū Ḥātim, *al-Zuhd* (ed. Mundhir Salim Maḥmūd al-Dūmī, Riyadh: Dār Aṭlas, 1421/2000) p. 38-39 §9.

<sup>11</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (p. 215-216); Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 273 §52).

On the other hand Ahmād greatly insisted on the virtues of work ('amal)—especially through trade (*tijāra*)—and wealth as financial independence (*ghinā, istighnā'*) for whoever asked him (*Hathth* §§1-10). As al-Khallāl reports from Yūsuf b. Asbāt, “to seek a lawful income is a categorical obligation” (§24 *ṭalab al-halāl farīda*) and, Ahmād stresses, perfectly non-negotiable when it comes to supporting one's dependants (§80). He had nothing but the harshest words (“reprobate!” “liar!” “foul and depraved!” “imbecile!” “innovators!” “Wicked people who want the world's paralysis and ruin!”) for those he viewed as taking refuge in quietism and idleness while calling it abstinence and reliance ( §§94, 106, 109, 111, 112), or false religious scrupulosity in blighted disregard of the Prophetic warning “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish” ( §§79-85). He also noted the duplicity of those who scoff at the licitness of work then accept handouts produced by it (§108).

### **Imam Ahmād and Sufism (*Taṣawwuf*)**

The Ḥanbalī *madhhab* at its inception is perhaps the most Sufi-oriented of all the Sunni schools and its Imam's open-door policy to Sufis is well-known.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, as the *Hathth* shows, Ahmād was called upon to clarify the Sunni parameters of self-deprivation and God-reliance as opposed to what he or some of his contemporaries among scholars viewed as heterodox excesses. In the second part of his book al-Khallāl documents their disapproval of ascetics who eat so little that it impairs them to the point they no longer fulfill their categorical obligations (§88); “rely on

<sup>12</sup> See on this the section entitled “Imam Ahmād's *Taṣawwuf* and Fond Love of Sufis” in our *Four Imams and Their Schools* (London: Muslim Academic Trust, 2007) pp. 386-389.

other people's knapsacks" by undertaking pilgrimage and going into deserts alone, without mount or provision (§90-94); or end up "some as madmen, some as heretics" (§95). At the same time al-Khallāl stresses that Ahmād did *conditionally* accept the validity of a seemingly extreme type of reliance on Allah, described as "reliance on a truthful basis" (*al-tawakkul 'alā al-ṣidq*) (§§89-91). Such, of course, typified the great early Sunnī ascetics such as Shāybān al-Rā'ī, Dāwūd al-Tā'ī, Ma'rūf and later figures in Ahmād's time, all of whom he profoundly admired even when he might have disagreed with them over some details—for example in his rejoinder to a very austere *du'ā'* related from Tāwūs (§8) or his paternal advice to two mendicants (§122).

A commonly misconstrued definition of *zuhd* or Islamic simple living limits its meaning to ascetic self-deprivation, which in reality is only one of its possible manifestations, and an outward one at that. In reality *zuhd* has many meanings that are all summed up in *qaṣr al-amal* or the certitude of the imminence of death, and *ridā* or love of Divine Foreordainment, unimpeded and uncontradicted by worldly diligence and even worldly wealth.<sup>13</sup> The Prophet himself—upon him blessings and peace—said: "Truly the purest and most delicious thing a man can eat is what he eats from his own earnings"<sup>14</sup> and he castigated mendicacy as sinful. At the same time the Qur'ān and Sunna strongly warn against materialism, to which a true Sufi must remain impervious.<sup>15</sup> "If his wealth gets depleted he does not

<sup>13</sup> See on this Imam al-Bayhaqī's introduction to his *Kitāb al-Zuhd al-Kabīr*.

<sup>14</sup> See below (§3).

<sup>15</sup> See on these two aspects Imam al-Qurṭubī's *Qam' al-Hirṣ bil-Zuhd wal-Qanā'a wa-Radd Dhull al-Su'āl bil-Kutbi wal-Shafā'a* (The subduing of

worry and if it increases he does not rejoice, nor does he abhor parting with it through death” (§19, *Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna*). “For the people of hearts,” advised the Syrian *walī Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Rawwās* (1220-1287/1805-1870) in his canons of sufism, “it is one and the same who or what comes near and who or what stays far.”<sup>16</sup> In this light Imam Alḥmad’s personal embrace of poverty together with his advice to work and own wealth are not mutually conflicting but are the Sunna at its core and a path of Sufi striving in its own right. Truthful reliance, moreover, precludes the *fiqh*-less brands of religious scruple (*wara’*) advocated by certain Muslims. Imam al-Ghazālī calls the latter *wara’ al-muwaswasīn*, “the scrupulosity of the victims of Satanic whispering,”<sup>17</sup> whereby, supposedly:

(i) “Using material means and relying on Allah are mutually exclusive”: on the contrary not only are they complementary<sup>18</sup> but the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—made the former a necessary pre-condition of the latter in his famous hadith, “Tie your camel first then rely on Allah.”<sup>19</sup> “Do not take risks” (§89) says the Imam to a man who asks about venturing into the desert alone and without provision. To another who asks him which is preferable for the traveller, “to carry provisions or rely on Allah?” he replies: “to carry provisions *and* rely on Allah” (§92a).

greed through abstinence and contentment and the repelling of the humiliation of beggary through handwritten requests and intercession), recently translated at Bristol’s Amal Press.

<sup>16</sup> al-Rawwās, *Fadhlakat al-Haqīqa* (§265, §268, §310).

<sup>17</sup> al-Ghazālī, opening of the “Book of *Halāl* and *Harām*” in *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*. See excerpt quoted in the marginalia of the *Hathth* (Abū Ghudda ed. pp. 73-74).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. §92a and §93.

<sup>19</sup> al-Tirmidhī (*Ṣifat al-qiyāma wal-raqā’iq wal-wara’ an Rasūl Allāh*).

(ii) “The whole economy being illicit makes the obtainment of licit income impossible”: on the contrary, whatever the economy, every individual transaction is judged on its own merit since illicitness in monies is transferable only when the beneficiary is positively aware of it.<sup>20</sup> The intermixing of *harām* with *halāl* in an economy never means that every single transaction in it becomes *harām* as a result. To a critic of all economy as unlawful Alḥmad scoffs: “Look at this corrupter! he wants to nullify people’s livelihoods!” (§94). In the same strain he advises accepting government subsidies and praying for the ruler (§10).

As al-Khallāl shows, in Alḥmad’s eyes the determining criterion between religion and religiosity, or true and false reliance was common sense as well as truthfulness. How can one look down on material means as irreligious when Allah Most High built the order of the world on them, and the Prophets and righteous availed themselves of them and praised them (cf. §115)?

### “Wealth is Part of Health”

Imam Alḥmad liked to cite the great *Tābi‘ī* Abū Qilāba’s pithy summation, “Wealth is part of health” (*al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*)<sup>21</sup>—not just one’s own physical upkeep and mental peace of mind, but that of one’s family and community as well, since it permits mutual aid in times of sickness and

<sup>20</sup> *al-hurmatu tata‘addā fil-amwāl ma‘a al-‘ilmī bihā*. Ibn Nujaym, *al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā’ir* (ed. Muḥammad Muṭī‘ al-Ḥāfiẓ, Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1403/1982) p. 344, beginning of *Kitāb al-haṣr wal-ibāha*.

<sup>21</sup> §8, §10. *Ghinā* has also been translated as “self-sufficiency,” “independence,” and “autonomy” as it can mean any or all four concepts; similarly *māl* has been variously translated as “wealth,” “possessions,” “money,” “holdings” and “capital.”

bereavement, which is the soul of joint responsibility (*takāful*). Acquiring and spending wealth licitly, moreover, shows obedience to Allah and His Prophet.

However, since most people tend to misuse wealth it is more a trial than a blessing, and although the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—sought refuge from both the evil of wealth and the evil of poverty (*Allāhumma innī a‘ūdhu bika min sharri fitnat al-ghinā wa-min sharri fitnat al-faqr*)<sup>22</sup> and warned that poverty was tantamount to unbelief (*Allāhumma innī a‘ūdhu bika min al-kufri wal-faqri, fa-qāla rajulun: wa-ya‘dilān? Qala na‘am*),<sup>23</sup> nevertheless much of the evidence from the Qur’ān and Sunna blames wealth and praises poverty.<sup>24</sup> In a sea of compilations on simple living and asceticism (*zuhd*),<sup>25</sup> reliance on Allah (*tawakkul*), scrupulosity (*wara‘*), contentment with little (*qanā‘a, iffa*), seclusion (*‘uzla*), and silence (*samt*), al-Khallāl’s work therefore provides a great service to the *Umma* by reminding

<sup>22</sup> Narrated in the Six Books except Abū Dāwūd.

<sup>23</sup> al-Nasā‘ī (*Isti‘ādha, al-isti‘ādhatu min sharr al-kufr*). See also the chapter on poverty in Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Islāh al-Māl* (p. 121 §440 and §444).

<sup>24</sup> Over 130 pages on the blame of wealth and the wealthy and the praise of poverty and the poor in the 2008 edition of Ibn al-Qayyim’s reference-work on patience and gratitude entitled ‘*Uddat al-Šābirīn wa-Dhakhirat al-Shākirīn* (p. 350-481) as opposed to only 40 pages in praise of wealth and spending (p. 482-522).

<sup>25</sup> Such as the various *Kitab al-Zuhd* authored by Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (129-197/747-813), Asad b. Mūsā known as Asad al-Sunna (132-212/ca.750-827), Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797), his student Hannād b. al-Sarī al-Kūfī (152-243/769-ca.857), his student Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal, his student Abū Dāwūd (d. 275/ca.888), his student Ibn al-A‘rābī (d. 340/ca.951), Abū Ḥātim al-Razī (195-277/811-890), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (208-281/823-894), Ibn Abī ‘Āsim (206-287/ca.821-900), al-Bayhaqī (384-458/994-1066), Ibn Hazm (384-456/994-1063)—perhaps his last work, and al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (392-463/1002-1071), all of which have been published.

people that **wealth that is acquired lawfully and put to good use is an avenue of blessings at all levels.** He was preceded and perhaps even bested in this endeavour by his senior of over 20 years, the Imam of the World in Hadith Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (208-281/823-894), with his sourcebook of over 500 texts on industry and wealth entitled *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl*. Both of them were preceded by the Arch-Imam of the World Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Bukhārī (194-256/810-870) with his numerous chapters on trading in his *Sahīh* and *Adab al-Mufrad* as well as Muslim and the *Sunan*.

Al-Khallāl also included many “Sufi” reports from some of the great luminaries of Islam renowned for their piety and asceticism as well as their superlative knowledge of the Divine Law (*Shari‘a*) and its proofs beginning with the Rightly-Guided Caliphs and other senior Companions, Uways al-Qarānī, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the two Sufyāns (al-Thawrī and Ibn ‘Uyayna), Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham, Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād, Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī, Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad, Ḥudhayfa al-Mar‘ashī, Ibn Aslam, Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ and Bishr al-Ḥāfi. To a certain extent their narrations make this volume a practicum of true servanthood and certainly reflect the importance and respect accorded by both the author and Imam Alīmad himself to religious devotion and the spiritual quest. That respect took leave of Ibn al-Jawzī (510-597/1116-1201) in his anti-Sufi *Talbīs Iblīs* where he cites reports from the *Hathth* fairly often (§§1-4, 18-19, 88, 90, 92, 95, 103, 106, 108-109, 111-112, 122).

### **Abū Bakr al-Khallāl**

Abū Bakr Alīmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Yazīd al-Baghdādī al-Khallāl (“vinegar-maker”) (234-311/849-923) was a Ḥanbali hadith master whose massive documentation of Alīmad b. Hanbal’s teachings made him the most im-

portant narrative link between the Imam and posterity. He was a direct student of the latter's principal students and colleagues such as Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī (d. 275/888), al-Athram (d. after 260/874), Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarbī (198–285/814–898), and the Imam's son ‘Abd Allāh (d. 290/903). In addition to his *Jāmi‘ li-‘Ulūm Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal* he also authored *al-‘Ilm, al-‘Ilal, al-Sunna*, and *Akhlaq Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*.

Upon hearing that one of his students, Ishlāq b. Manṣūr al-Kawsaj, had published a compilation of Aḥmad's juridical views, the latter gathered his companions and declared that he had now disclaimed all of them. It is partly because of this scrupulous fear (*wara‘*) of seeing his *fiqh* etched in stone that on so many specific issues two, three, or up to ten different positions are related from Imam Aḥmad. Al-Khallāl gathered all these views into his 40-volume *Jāmi‘* after Aḥmad's death, the first full compilation of the latter's teachings in *fiqh*. Majd al-Dīn b. Taymiyya (‘Abd al-Salām b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Khaḍir al-Ḥarrānī, d. 652/1254) then reduced this unwieldy compilation into a single volume entitled *al-Muḥarrar min al-Fiqh ‘alā Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. Al-Kawtharī pointed out that despite Aḥmad's disclaimer, Imam al-Tirmidhī in his *Sunan* still relied on al-Kawsaj's compilation whenever citing Aḥmad's legal positions.

al-Dhahabī (673–748/1275–1347) wrote in the chapter on al-Khallāl in his magisterial biographical encyclopedia, *Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā‘*:

AL-KHALLĀL: THE IMAM, SAVANT, HADITH MASTER AND JURIST, THE SHAYKH OF THE HANBALIS AND THEIR SCHOLAR, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. HĀRŪN B. YAZĪD AL-BAGHDĀDĪ AL-KHALLĀL.

He was born in 234 or 235, so it is possible he saw Imam Alīmad; but he took jurisprudence from a large number of his disciples and was Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhi's main student. He heard [hadith] from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa, Sa‘dān b. Naṣr, Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭalib, Ḥarb b. Ismā‘il al-Kirmānī, Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān al-Fasawī whom he met in Persia, Alīmad b. Muṭla‘ib, al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī, Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, ‘Alī b. Sahl b. al-Mughīra al-Bazzāz, Alīmad b. Maṇṣūr al-Ramādī, Abū Yalḥya Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā al-Naqid, Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Munādī, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Ḥasan b. Thawāb al-Makhramī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Maymūnī, Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, Muḥammad b. ‘Awf al-Ṭā’ī, Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī, Abū Bakr al-Ṣāḥḥānī and many others.

He travelled to Persia, Syro-Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, collecting the *fiqh* of Imam Alīmad, his *fatwas* and responses. He wrote from his seniors and juniors, and even from his own students to the point he gathered up much knowledge. He then compiled his book *al-Jāmi‘ fil-Fiqh* from the discourse of the Imam, using the terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā*, in twenty volumes. He also authored *al-‘Ilal ‘an Ahmad* in three volumes, which reveals his scholarly mastership and vast expertise.

Before al-Khallāl's time Imam Alīmad did not have an independent juridical school. Then al-Khallāl came, painstakingly collected all the texts from Imam Alīmad, compiled them into volumes and brought them out after the year 300—Allah have mercy on him. Abū Bakr b. Shahrayār said: “We are all indebted to Abū Bakr al-Khallāl: none preceded him in gathering up the knowledge of Imam Alīmad.”

Few narrate from him. Among them: Imam Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far (Ghulām al-Khallāl), Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Muẓaffar, and others.

al-Khaṭīb said in his *Tārīkh*: “al-Khallāl gathered up Alīmad's sciences and researched them, travelling for that purpose, writing them down, compiling them into books. There was no one more encyclopedic than him among

those who affiliated themselves to Alḥmad’s *madhab*. Abū Ya‘lā b. al-Farrā’ told me: ‘Abū Bakr al-Khallāl was buried next to Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī.’”<sup>26</sup>

He died in the month of Rabī‘ al-Awwal 311 (June-July 923), aged 77 years. It is also said he was almost 80.

al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus [al-Qalānīsī] and ‘Isā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān [al-Ṣāliḥī al-Simsār] both reported to us: Ja‘far b. ‘Alī reported to us: the hadith master Alḥmad b. Muḥammad [Abū Ṭahir al-Silafī] reported to us: al-Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār [al-Şayrafi] reported to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī reported to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far informed us: Alḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn [al-Khallāl] reported to us: al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal narrated to us: I heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna say: “Your thought about tomorrow’s sustenance is recorded against you as a sin.”<sup>27</sup>

A frank anthropomorphist, in his *Kitāb al-Sunna* al-Khallāl promoted his teachers’ view that whoever denies that Allah “makes the Prophet *sit with Him* on the Throne” and that “there remains only four spans vacant for the Prophet to *sit next to Him*” (as narrated from Mujāhid) is an unbeliever.<sup>28</sup>

### **Al-Khallāl’s terminology of hadith transmission**

In keeping with the tradition of early *Ahl al-Sunna* scholars, al-Khallāl’s scholarly discourse is invariably in the format of hadith transmission and he uses their conventional nomenclature as referred to by al-Dhahabī in his above-cited remark, “using the terms *akhbaranā* and *ḥaddathanā*.”

<sup>26</sup> al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* (5:112-113).

<sup>27</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (14:297-298 §193).

<sup>28</sup> al-Khallāl, *al-Sunna* (1:209-268 *dhikr al-maqām al-mahmūd*, esp. 1:215 §246-247, 1:236-237 §272, and 1:239 §275).

**Akhbara, anba'a.** For the majority of the reports he narrates in his books including *al-Hathth*, al-Khallāl uses the term *akhbaranā*, translated as “X reported to us” wherein *khabar* is “report.” In early usage the term is synonymous with *haddathanā*<sup>29</sup> but later usage restricts it to “presentation” (*‘ard*) and “reading back” (*qirā'a*), to signify that the student was part of a group before whom the report was presented/read to the teacher, either by the student himself or by someone else in the teacher’s (and that student’s) presence, rather than by the teacher himself. If used with a singular direct object—*akhbaranī*—the term denotes a one-on-one reading by al-Khallāl to his source. He also uses the two pairs *qara'nā/ qara'tu 'alā fulānan*, “We/I read before X” and *anba'anā/i*, “X informed us/me,” all of it synonymous here with *akhbaranā/i*.

**Haddatha.** The terms *haddathanā/i*, translated as “X narrated to us/me,” which al-Khallāl uses only a handful of times (§§1, 23, 66, 99, 101, 107, 116 and 121)—around 6% of the total number of reports (125)—denote direct verbatim aural delivery<sup>30</sup> by the teacher himself and no other,

<sup>29</sup> As demonstrated by al-Talhawī in his treatise *al-Taswiya bayna Ḥaddathanā wa-Akhbaranā* in *Khams Rasā'il fi 'Ulūm al-Hadīth* (ed. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1423/2002) pp. 301-314. It is known that Mālik’s way in the transmission of hadīth, like Ibn al-Musayyab, ‘Urwa, al-Qāsim, Sālim, Nāfi‘, al-Zuhrī and others, was *‘ard* and *qirā'atan* rather than *samā‘* (“audition of the shaykh’s own reading”). In both cases the student stated, by convention, “So-and-so narrated to us” (*ḥaddathanā fulān*); then the latter term became reserved for *samā‘*. See biographical entry on ‘Abd Allāh b. Alīmad b. Ḥanbal.

<sup>30</sup> All such readings are understood to have taken place on the basis of written records transmitted through audible delivery and usually involving dictation, copying and/or handing over of notebooks. On this important aspect of early hadīth culture see Gregor Schoeler, *The Oral*

before a group or a single student. In its strict meaning that is what the term “hadith” implies, and it is synonymous with *qāla lanā/lī*, “X said to us/me” and *sami‘nā/ sami‘tu fulānan yaqūl/yadhkur*, “We/I heard X say/mention.”

**Kataba.** In the rarer cases al-Khallāl obtained the report by corresponding with his source rather than through a live meeting he indicated it by saying *kataba ilayya*, “X wrote to me” (e.g. §47).

**Ijāzatan.** Finally, the weakest of all these modes of transmission is by *ijāza* or “license/permission of transmission,” usually in written form but often only oral, whereby the teacher gives permission to the student to relate from him either one or more specific reports or works the teacher is known to have related from his own teachers, or all (*ijāza ḥāmma*) that he is known to have related without restriction, without making the validity of that mode of transmission contingent on audition—although not excluding it. ‘*An*’ or “from” is indecisive-transmission terminology used by latter-day scholars in the sense of *ijāza*, although early scholars considered it tantamount to direct audition if used between two contemporary links and subject to further conditions outlined by the experts. Al-Khallāl regularly quotes it for Prophetic hadiths in keeping with the practice of the Nine Books and other compilations.<sup>31</sup>

*and the Written in Early Islam* (transl. Uwe Vegelpohl, ed. James Montgomery, London and New York: Routledge, 2006) and our review in *The Muslim World Book Review* 27 no. 4 (Summer 2007) 24-29 or at [http://mac.abc.se/~onesr/d/myor\\_e.pdf](http://mac.abc.se/~onesr/d/myor_e.pdf).

<sup>31</sup> See Abbreviations. For more on this topic see our hadith transmission teacher Sayyid Muḥammad al-Ya‘qūbī’s seminal introduction to Muḥammad al-Rābi‘ al-Ḥasanī al-Nadwī’s *thabat* entitled *Bughyat al-*

“*Muhammad reported...*” “*Muhammad b. Ismā‘il reported...*” Whenever al-Khallāl uses any of these terms he means one of his principal direct sources in this book, his teacher Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il b. Samura al-Ālmasī al-Kūfi al-Sarrāj (d. 260?/874), who represents his highest (=shortest) chain of transmission since he narrated from Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ (see his biographical entry).

Other prestigious high chains for al-Khallāl include his narration from the supercentenarian Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh Darrān al-Ḥalabī (184-294/800-907), from Mālik’s student the arch-master al-Qa‘nabī (born after 130-221/748-836), from ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Majishūn (d. 164/781) with the latter’s three-men chain to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace (§86). al-Khallāl also narrates the same hadith from the hadith master Abū Umayya Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muslim al-Khuzā‘ī al-Ṭarasūsī (d. 273/886), from Manṣūr b. Salama al-Khuzā‘ī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 208/823) and Abū al-Jamāhir Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Tanūkhī al-Kafarsūsī (140-224/757-839), both of them from al-Majishūn (§87).

### Ibn Ḥajar’s “Forms of conveyance” from *Nukhbat al-Fikar*

The *Hāfiẓ* Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (773-852/1372-1448) defined as follows the forms of conveyance of hadith reports in his primer on hadith nomenclature, *Nukhbat al-Fikar*:

The forms of conveyance are:

- (1) “*sami‘tu*” (I heard)
- (2) and “*haddathānī*” (he narrated to me)
- (3) then “*akhbaranī*” (he reported to me)

*Mutābi‘ li-Asānīd Muḥammad al-Rābi‘* (ed. Muḥammad Akram al-Nadwī, Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1422/2001) 5-30.

- (4) and “*qara’tu ‘alayhi*” (I read to him)  
 (5) then “*quri’a ‘alayhi wa-ana asma‘u*” (it was read to him while I heard)  
 (6) then “*anba’anī*” (he informed me)  
 (7) then “*nāwalanī*” (he put into my hands)  
 (8) then “*shāfahamī*” (he told me verbally)  
 (9) then “*kataba ilayya*” (he wrote to me)  
 (10) then ““*an*” (from) and the like.
- The first two are for someone who heard the shaykh verbatim one-on-one. If pluralised then [he heard] with someone else.
  - The first is the most explicit and is the highest-ranked in hadith dictation.
  - The third and fourth are for someone who read [to the shaykh] while alone. If the plural is used it is like the fifth.
  - “Informing” [the sixth] is synonymous with “reporting” [the third]. However, in the custom of the later generations “informing” is for authorisation (*ijāza*), like ‘*an*’ [“from”].
  - The indecisive-transmission terminology [*an’ana*, i.e. “from so-and-so”] of contemporaries is tantamount/understood to be direct audition unless used by a camouflaging reporter (*mudallis*). It is said that a condition is that the meeting of the said contemporaries be positively proven, even if only once; it is the preferred opinion (*mukhtār*).
  - They used *mushāfaha* for an oral authorisation and *mukātaba* for a written authorisation [with the late scholars].
  - For *munāwala* to be authentic they stipulated that it be accompanied by permission to relate; it is the highest type of authorisation (*ijāza*).
  - They also stipulated permission for a report found (*wijāda* i.e. “something found in a book”), likewise a book bequeathed (*waṣīyya bil-kitāb*), and in a shaykh’s public announcement that he narrates something (*i’lām*), otherwise it is of no consequence; as is an authorisation that is universal or to someone unknown [to us], or to someone nonexistent—according to the soundest opinion on all of the above.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Hajar, *Nukhbat al-Fikar*, transl. Musa Furber in Haddad, *Sunna*

### **Editions and manuscripts of the *Hathth* used in this book**

The present translation of the *Hathth* is based on the following two editions and three manuscripts, the latter of which helped clear inaccuracies that crept into one or both published editions:

**I.** The 239-page edition by Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād published at Riyadh's Dār al-Āṣīma in 1407/1987.<sup>33</sup> This edition is overall the more reliable one with regard to textual integrity. It also provides useful documentation of the textual contents of the book<sup>34</sup> as well as the narrators Khallāl adduces in his transmission chains even if at times interminably prolix (e.g. 13-page documentation for §119 pp. 163-176). It is based on the following sources:

- (i) Ms. Damascus Zāhiriyah 118/6, folios 25a-40b, on which the erudite Sufi Ḥanbali hadith master, jurist, and linguist of Qāsyūn in the Ṣālihiyya district of Damascus, Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādī known as Ibn al-Mabrad (841-909/1437-1503) recorded by hand his 897/1492 audition (*samā‘*) of this book.
- (ii) Ms. Zāhiriyah [present-day Maktabat al-Asad] Majmū‘ 116, folios 99b-114a which is defective and missing its last page or couple of pages right after §122. It is inscribed with a *samā‘* dated Shawwāl 704/May 1305 and a later

*Notes I* (p. 186-187).

<sup>33</sup> Accessible online at <http://www.waqfeya.com/book.php?bid=6412> or at <http://www.archive.org/download/waq3412/3412.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> Excluding of course the inept anti-Sufi comments that mar all Maḥmūd al-Ḥaddād's publications.

*samā‘*<sup>c</sup> autographed by Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādī. Complete, readable with difficulty. Accessible online in scanned format of 15 black-and-white \*.tif files.<sup>35</sup>

(iii) Ms. Berlin or.oct.1807 in 18 folios dated Jumu‘a 22 Ṣafar 1335/15 December 1916, neatly copied in black ink from an original predating a *samā‘* on 6 Rabī‘ 655/31 March 1257, from the library of the German Orientalist Hellmut Ritter (1892-1971) and stamped with his Arabic name-seal.<sup>36</sup> The copyist made countless mistakes which a reader corrected both inside the text and in the margins. The copyist penned at the end of the text on folio 18a: “Its verification and correct vowelisation were finalised” (*balaghha muqabalatahu wa-taṣḥīḥan bil-dabṭ*) but the reader put this remark next to it: “Glory to You, this is a gross calumny! Such a claim is belied by the senses! Because I only corrected it that way after a huge effort on my part.” A good scan of this very readable copy is accessible online and bears some marginal annotations in what looks like a Georgian script, perhaps by Ritter’s own hand.<sup>37</sup>

(iv) The 1348/1929-1930 Damascus: Maktabat al-Qudsī edition of the erudite Ottoman Shaykh Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, which I have not seen, based on a manuscript from his private collection.

<sup>35</sup> <http://archive.org/details/alhathalajejara>

<sup>36</sup> Ritter’s doctoral thesis under Carl Heinrich Becker at the University of Bonn in 1914 was an edition, German translation and study of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī al-Dimashqī’s *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tijāra*, published as *Ein arabisches Handbuch der Handelswissenschaft* in *Der Islam* vol. 7 (1917) 1-97 and recently translated and published in English by Dr. Adi Setia as *The Indicator to the Virtues of Commerce* (Kuala Lumpur: IBFIM, 2011).

<sup>37</sup> <http://wadod.org/vb/showthread.php?t=4813> as of June 12, 2012. See below, Figs. 3-4.

**II.** The 119-page edition of al-Kawtharī's student 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda (d. 1417/1997) published at Beirut's Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmiyya in 1995.<sup>38</sup> This edition also provides useful documentation and is more practical than its predecessors for vowelisation. Abū Ghudda described it as based exclusively on his teacher's 1348/1929-1930 Damascus edition already mentioned. He said he finished working on it in Jumādā I 1405/January 1985 and does not acknowledge the existence of al-Ḥaddād's 1987 edition. Yet his edition has the same (and at times illogical) numbering—which we remedied with sub-entries and duplicate numbering (§§23a, 32a, 42a, 71a, 90a, 92a, 99a, 122a, 122b)—and some very similar notes. His edition also has many errors and gaps for such a small volume:

- wrong vowelisations (§10 *wal-ṣalawāti* should be *wal-ṣalawātu*; §14 *kharaq* → *khurq*; §38 *haml* → *ḥiml*; §44 al-Warakānī → al-Warkānī; §93 *Mashshīsh* → *Mushaysh*; §108 *umira* → *amara*; §110 *ḥulm* → *ḥulum*; §122 par. 2 *wadi'a* → *wudi'a*; §127 al-Dawrī → al-Dūrī; §128 *li-hādhīhi al-qulūbi* → *la-hādhīhi al-qulūba*);
- incorrect morphology (§88 al-Hanbalī should be al-Ḥubulī; §90 *wa-lā tastashrifu nafsuh* → *wa-lā yastashrifu nafsaḥ*; §99 *qāl* → *qālā*; §115 *idhan min al-shirā'* → *idhnun fil-shirā'*);
- incorrect syntax (§10 par. 8 the clause *yumkinunī al-dukhūl* ends with the word *al-jumu'a*, not *wal-ṣalawāt*; §91 the initial clause *wa-'alā... aydan* belongs with the last clause of §90; §122);
- incomplete Qur'ānic documentation (§42 n.2) and failure to include hadith documentations (§§8, 58-59, 106, 109);

<sup>38</sup> Also available online at <http://www.waqfeya.com/book.php?bid=6411> or <http://www.archive.org/download/waqf25179/25179.pdf>

- failure to provide basic glosses (§§48-49; §113; §119 *li-dhī damin mūji‘* is left unexplained despite an incongruous 3-page gloss) and biographical identifications (§2 and §92: Ibn Aslam; §46: Ibn Nūḥ; §60: “*Abū Yāḥyā*”; the speaker in §116; §122: *Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad*; §124: *Abū Sufyān*).
- typographical errors (§8 n.1 *al-Muwaddih* 1:14 not 1:41, *al-Hilya* 4:9 not 3:9; §47 second *ya‘nī* should be removed);
- Some marginal comments are unnecessarily didactic (in §§59, 106, 115)—the text speaks for itself—or show that the text was misunderstood (§7 n.2, §8 n.1, §108 n.2), or the author’s intent (§126 n.1, §127 n.1), or both (§122).
- The hadith grading and/or narrator commendation or discreditation is at times either misleading or off the mark (§§59, 105, 122).

**III.** Ms. Damascus Zāhiriyah Majmū‘ 116 already described.

**IV.** The Berlin ms. already described.

**V.** Ms. Riyadh King Sa‘ūd University Majmū‘ 1928 of 14 folios. Dated 1339/1920 or 1921. Accurate, complete and very readable copy except for faded ink in many places. Accessible online in scanned format of 16 color jpg files.<sup>39</sup>

### **Grading of reports**

With regard to verdicts of authenticity or inauthenticity and the general grading of the reports neither one of the two annotated editions stands out as definitive. We have there-

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.mediafire.com/?32z2dm0nw4j>

fore provided our own comments wherever pertinent. The authoritative hadithic format of al-Khallāl's book in and of itself forms one large endorsement of authenticity on his part, and his inclusion of a few patently weaker reports, Prophetic (e.g. §105) or otherwise (e.g. §127), must be understood in the context of the scholarly consensus that weak reports in support of good deeds (*fada'īl al-a'māl*) are accepted.<sup>40</sup>

### **Translator's narrative chain (*sanad al-riwāya*) for this book**

The pauper in need of His Lord's Mercy, Abū Ḥammād Gibril ibn Fouad Haddad al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī *thumma* al-Brunāwī narrates this book through an all-Damascene, mostly Ṣāliḥī chain:

- from my teacher the *Musnid* Dr. Muḥammad Mu'tazz al-Subaynī al-Ṣāliḥī the imam of the Muẓaffarī Mosque (Jāmi' al-Ḥanābila, built 599/1202) on Mount Qasyūn, Ṣalihiyya district, Damascus;
- from his teacher Shaykh Muḥammad Fahmī b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Nā'imī al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1419/1998);
- from his teacher Shaykh 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Tikrītī al-Ṣāliḥī (1300-1361/1883-1942);
- My father (d. 1313/1895) informed us (through *ijāza*);
- Shaykh 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Saqatī al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1288/1871) informed us;
- 'Abd al-Ghanī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqatī al-Ṣāliḥī (1165-1246/1752-1831) informed us;
- from the *Musnid* 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Salīmī al-Ṣāliḥī (1113-1200/1701-1786)—all the above-named eight are Shāfi'iṣ:

<sup>40</sup> See on this our *Sunna Notes I* (p. 100-104).

- from the Mufti of the Ḥanafīs in his time ‘Abd al-Ghanī b. Ismā‘il al-Nabulusī al-Ṣalīḥī (1050-1143/1640-1731):<sup>41</sup>
- from Shaykh al-Qurrā’ and the Mufti and jurist of Ḥanbalīs in his time Taqī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ba‘lī al-Azharī al-Dimashqī al-Ṣūfī (1005-1072/1596-1662):
- from the Mufti of Ḥanbalīs, Qadi and *Muḥaddith*, Shaykh al-Islām al-Shihāb Aḥmad b. Abī al-Wafā b. Muflīḥ (936-1035/ 1530-1626):
- from the Seal of Hadith Masters and Polymath Scholars the historian of Syro-Palestine Abū al-Faḍl Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn al-Dimashqī al-Ṣalīḥī (880-953/1475-1546):
- from the Ḥanbalī hadith master and jurist, author of 400 collections of 40 hadiths, Abū al-Mahāsin/Abū ‘Umar Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Hādī al-‘Umarī al-Ṣalīḥī (841-909/ 1437-1503), famed as Ibn al-Mabrad (per Ibn Ṭūlūn) or Ibn al-Mibrad (per others):
- from the Ḥanbalī Musnid and Qadi Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī ‘Umar al-Maqdisī al-Ṣalīḥī, known as Ibn Zurayq (812-900/1409-1495), a scion of Ibn Qudāma:
- from the Seal of Damascene hadith masters Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Qaysī al-Dimasqī, known as Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (777-842/1375-1438):
- from Sāra bint Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Kāfi al-Subkiyya al-Anṣāriyya (734-805/1333-1403): (through her *ijāza*)
- from the computer of hadith masters Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Hajjāj Yūsuf b. al-Zakī al-Mizzī (654-742/1256-1341):

<sup>41</sup> “The greatest of those I have chronicled in knowledge, sainthood (*wilāya*), abstinence (*zuhd*), fame, and expertise (*dirāya*)” (al-Murādī in *Silk al-Durar*).

- from the *Hāfiẓ*, *Shaykh al-Hadīth fil-Diyā'iyya*, Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Rahīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāhid al-Maqdisī al-Šāliḥī, known as Ibn al-Kamāl (607-688/1211-1289);
- from the arch-master and Mufti of the Ḥanbalīs Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Šāliḥī (541-620/1147-1223) with his chain cited below, namely:
- I read before ‘Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr al-Mawṣilī (d. 567/1172);
- al-Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 500/1107) reported to you;
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Azjī (356-444/967-1052) informed us;
- ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far b. Aḥmad—known as Ghulām al-Khallāl (285-363/898-973)—reported to us by permission (*ijāzatan*);
- **Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Khallāl narrated to us...**

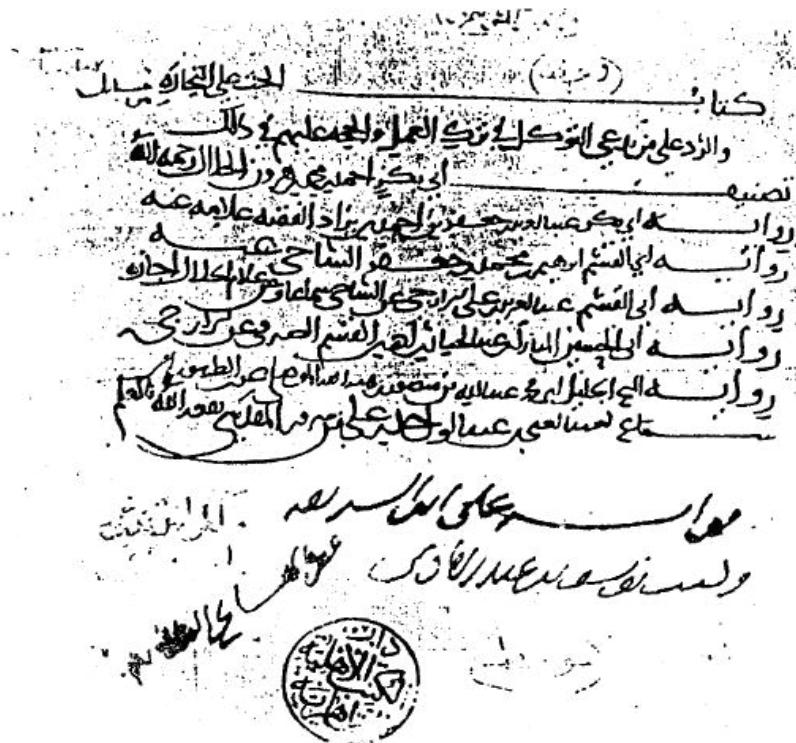


Fig.1: Damascus Ms 116 f°101a  
with Yūsuf Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādi’s autograph (bottom right).

كتاب الترغيب

رات على الشجاعي بحمد عبد الله وصوري فيه اللواحة يوم الجمعة چادي عمره  
العشر من شهر ابريل سنة تسعين وسبعين ميلاده فان له ائمته الشمع الصالحة بولمسون المارك  
بعد المدار لحمد القسم الصغير منه عليه ولهم عده ولهم شمع كاللسان العجم عبد العزير  
بر على شجاع العصا الارجح مواده عليه في حمد الحرو من سنين لـ ١٣٠٢ واربع  
وأربعين له ما في الخزانة اليونانية عبد العزير صفتة في دار معروفة لفنه  
المعروف سلام الدنار البحارة قال الارجح وفي على الى القسم اورهم شرفة  
الشاجي والشمع قالها ابو يحيى عبد العزيز قاله ابو يحيى كرايمه محمد بن  
الحال ما ينكر ان يروي قال الشمعت وجلسا ولا يحيى سبالة رحمة الله  
في كفابد حال الرم السوق نصل بالجمعة ونعود به  
ولحسونا اليوناني قال وحلاي عبد الله رحمة الله من اصحابه  
رجى ل عمل القم وصدق في الفضل على ابنه واحمد الواقع  
المؤودي قال وسمعت ابا عبد الله رحمة الله قد اسرهم فتنى لوله ادخلعوا  
الي السوق وان عرضوا للتجارة وقال وحدي عراسه عن الديوب  
عليه سبالة قال اطبي ما لا يحيى الحرام منه لحسن في محبت  
لحسونا الفضل بن زياد حذفناه قال شمعت ابا عبد الله رحمة الله عراسه في  
نقول ما الحسن الاستغاثة عن الناس لحسن في محبت معنى ما  
معه على بـ حـ فـ اـ قـ اـ رـ ضـ اـ بـ اـ لـ عـ اـ بـ اـ دـ حـ حـ

Fig.2: Damascus Ms. 116 f°101b (beginning of the book).

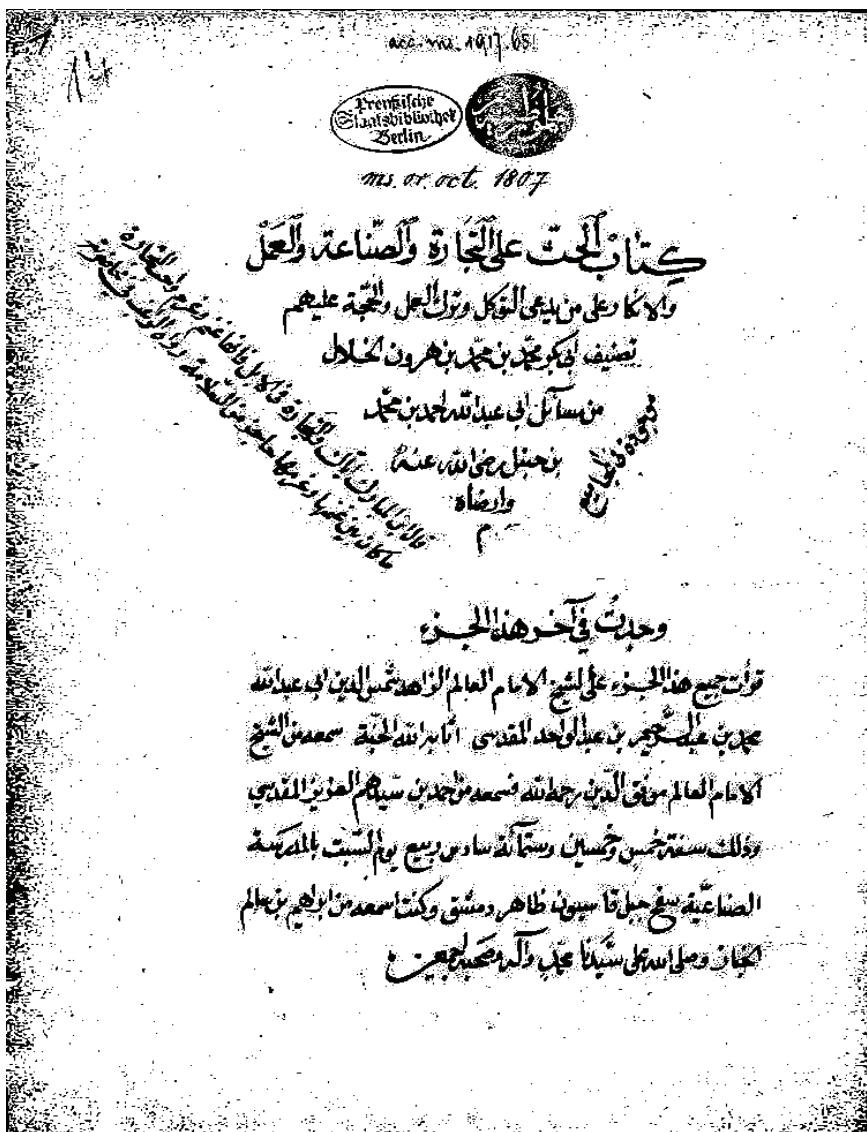


Fig.3: Berlin Ms. frontispiece with “Halmūt Rītar” (Hellmut Ritter) name-seal.

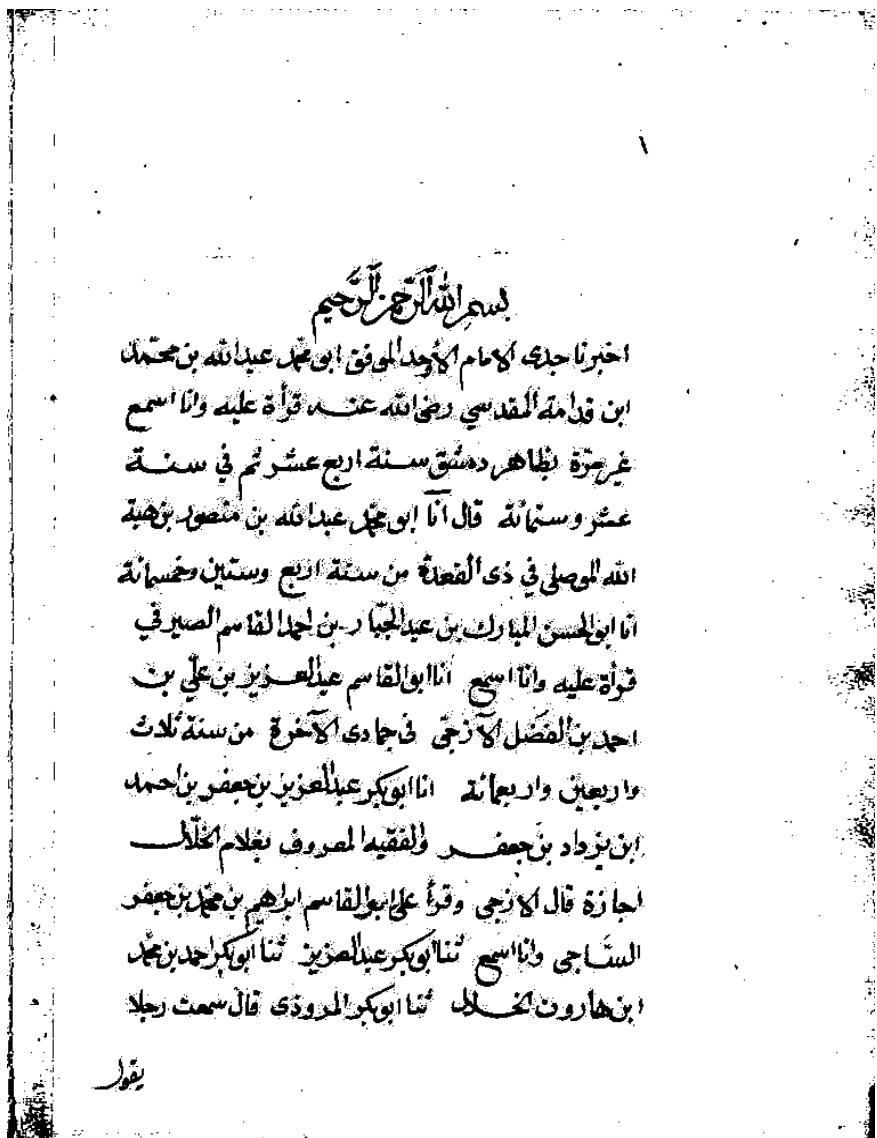


Fig. 4: Berlin Ms. f°1b with al-Khallāl's name, bottom line.

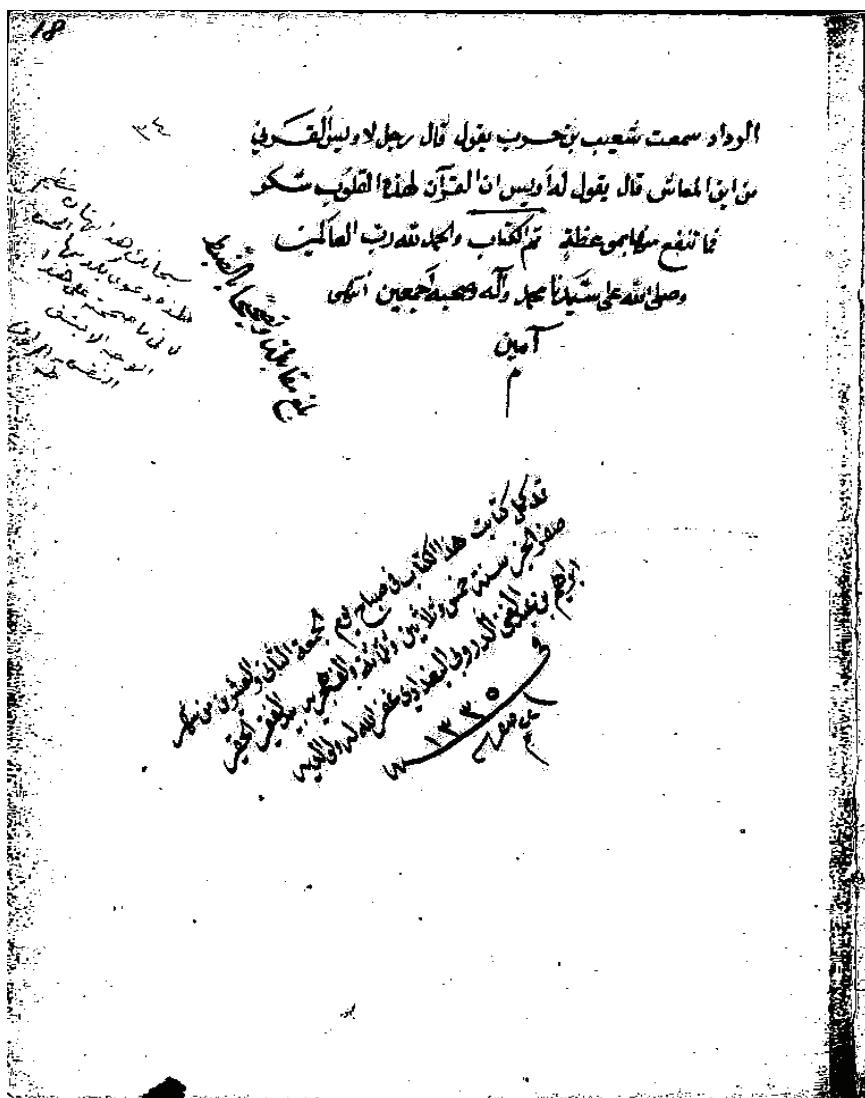


Fig. 5: Berlin Ms. f°18a with copyist's name: *al-faqīr al-haqīr*  
Ibrāhīm b. ‘Abd al-Ghanī al-Durūbī al-Baghdadī, 1335H.

كتاب الحمد للتجارة والصناعة والعمل  
 وهو نكارة لفاسد يدعى عبد الله بن حمزة العجمي وابن عيسى  
 تصنيف أبي عبد الله محمد بن حمزة حفظه الله تعالى  
 محققانه أبو عبد الله محمد بن حمزة حنبلي  
 رفيق العزير مدين

١٢٣

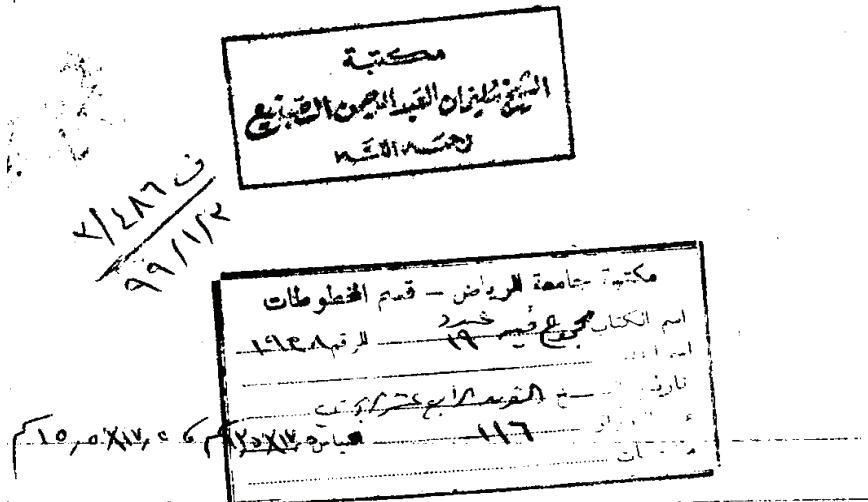


Fig.6: Riyadhs Ms. f'1a subtitled *min masā'il Abī 'Abd Allāh*  
*Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, radiya Allāhu 'anh, āmīn!*

لِبَرِ الْأَوْرَاقِ الرَّصِيمِ

الْجَبَرُ لِجَبَرِ الْأَمْرِ الْأَبُورِ إِلَوْقُونُ وَلِوَحْدَةِ عَمَدِ الْمَرْدَهِ أَحْسَرِ  
 قَيْمَادِهِ عَلَيْهِ وَلِكَاسِرِ حَمَدِهِ بَطَاهُرِ بَشَقِيِّهِ فِي دَهْجِ عَسَرِ تَرَهِي  
 كَشَرِ وَسَمَاءِهِ حَلَلِهِ لِوَحْدَهِهِ بَهْنَصِيِّهِ بَهْرِهِ الْفَلَصِيِّهِ فِي  
 دَهْجِهِ بَعْدِهِ حَتَنِ سَنَهِهِ اَرَهُو وَسَيْرِهِ هَخِيِّهِ اَذَانِهِ الْمَهَادِهِ بَهْجِهِ بَلَهِيِّهِ  
 اَنْ اَصْدِرِهِ اَلْهَامِهِ الصَّيِّرِيِّهِ قَرَاءَهِهِ عَلَلِهِ اَلْأَسْحَارِ اَلْأَوَّلِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَعْجَمِيِّهِ  
 اَحْرَمِهِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ الْأَرْوَحِيِّهِ قَرَاءَهِهِ عَلَلِهِ اَلْأَسْحَارِ اَلْأَوَّلِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ  
 اَنْ اَبْلُوكِهِ عَمَدِهِ الْعَزِيزِيِّهِ حَمَدِهِهِ بَوْهِرِهِ حَلَانِهِ اَحْمَدِهِهِ بَهْرَهِهِ  
 بَغَالِهِهِ اَلْأَدِيِّهِ اَجَاهَهِهِ اَلْأَزَجِيِّهِ حَمَدِهِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ بَغَصَّهِهِ  
 اَلْأَسْمَىِّهِ اَلْأَسْمَعِهِ اَلْأَبْلُوكِهِ عَمَدِهِ الْعَزِيزِيِّهِ حَمَدِهِهِ بَوْهِرِهِ حَلَانِهِ اَحْمَدِهِهِ  
 اَلْخَلَالِهِهِ اَلْأَبْلُوكِهِ الْأَرْوَحِيِّهِ حَمَدِهِهِ بَوْهِرِهِ حَلَانِهِ اَحْمَدِهِهِ  
 نَقَالِهِهِ اَلْأَمْسَوَةِ اَنْ تَحْلِي سَكَرِهِهِ وَتَقْوِيْهِهِ بَجْتَهِهِ بَرِّهِهِ جَهْنَمِهِهِ  
 اَلْخَلَالِهِهِ اَلْأَبْلُوكِهِ عَلَلِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَسْمَىِّهِ اَلْأَسْمَعِهِ  
 وَرَصَهِهِ وَبَلَقَهِهِ اَلْأَبْلُوكِهِ اَلْأَحْسَرِهِ بَكَلَلِهِهِ وَبَيِّنِهِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ  
 يَقُولُ قَرَاءَهِهِ اَنْ يَرِي اَبْرَاهِيمَ يَحْيَى اَلْمُوَالِيِّهِ مَرْتِهِ وَالْمُرْتَبَهِ اَلْمُجَاهِدِهِ  
 قَدْرِهِهِ عَلَيْهِهِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَعْجَمِيِّهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَسْمَىِّهِ  
 اَخْرَجَهِهِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَعْجَمِيِّهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَسْمَىِّهِ  
 بَالْأَسْمَوَتِ وَبَجْوَهِهِ اَلْأَسْمَاءِ اَلْأَنْفُسِهِ اَلْأَسْمَىِّهِ بَرِّهِهِ جَهْنَمِهِهِ

قَلْ

Fig.7: Riyadh Ms. f°1b (beginning of the book).

المتوكل على بقلاطه الهاشمية انصر وجل في سدق ادعه وجل بما يحيى  
**اخرج في المسن** من ببر الراية فما سمع حمد لهم من انشاد وحدهم في  
 عن سيفان عن أبي سنان عن خيره وحضر قال المؤذن جماع الاجات  
**اخرج في المسن** من ببر سمع حمد لهم من صاحب حاتم شاعر العمال  
 سمعت عبد الجليل بن عطيه يحيى وعمر السبي تكل أن توكل العبد على رب  
 إن يعلم الله توكله أخبار في حرب بن سعيد الكندي في  
 قال هذى عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن سليم ثنا حسين بن زياد المروزي قال  
 سمعت سيفان في عيادة يقول جماع الاجات التوكل على رب  
 التوكل أن يتحقق ما فعله ما أخبار في الدوراني شاعر حمد هذى طلاق بن ثابت  
 ثنا القاسم بن سليمان في له سمعت السبعي يقول إن الله رب العالمين  
 وراء الأندلس كما يتناولين الأندلس ما يرون إن الله عصمه مختلف  
 رضاهم الدرواين قوت وجبار المذهب والفقه لا يكتفى ولا  
 يزدرون أولئك عدو لهم بحوار دوبيهم لغيرهم طعامهم وشرب  
 لهم اوراق عرارض محيى لبابهم **اخرج في** أبو نكبة صدق شاعر بن  
 الصاس الاطوش حمد هذى أبو نكبة الرداد شعيب بن حرب يقول قال  
 رجل لا ويس الفرق في من ايتها المعاشر قال يقول له اوصي ان القرآن له دين  
 القلوب شكت فلما نتفق منها بوعظة نعم الكتب **واطرد العروبة**  
 وصل الله وسلام على سيفان حمد والوجه

لهم  
سمعت

Fig.8: Riyadh Ms. f°13b (end) with copyist's dating: 1339H.



THE  
*EXHORTATION*  
TO TRADE, INDUSTRY AND WORK,  
THE REBUKE OF THOSE WHO  
CLAIM TRUST IN ALLAH BY  
ABANDONING WORK, AND THE  
PROOF THAT THEY ARE WRONG

*al-Hathth ‘alā al-Tijāra wal-Šinā‘a wal-‘Amal  
wal-Inkār ‘alā man Yadda‘ī al-Tawakkul  
fī Tark al-‘Amal wal-Hujjatu  
‘alayhim fī Dhālik*

By

ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. HĀRŪN

**AL-KHALLĀL**  
(234-311/849-923)



## In the Name of Allah All-Beneficent Most Merciful

*My* grandfather,<sup>42</sup> the incomparable Imam Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī<sup>43</sup> (541-620/1147-1223), Allah be well-pleased with him, reported to us (*akhbaranā*) outside Damascus on more than one occasion as I sat listening, in 614/1217 then again in 626/1229:

I read before Shaykh Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. Hibat Allāh al-Mawṣilī (d. 567/1172) on the day of Jumu‘a 11 Dhūl-Ḥijja 564 (12 September 1169):

the righteous Shaykh Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-ṣayrafi<sup>44</sup> (d. 500/1107) reported to you as someone read before him while you sat listening, and he said:

<sup>42</sup> The speaker is the hadith master Sayf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Isā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Qudāma al-Maqdisī (605-643/1209-1245) per ms. Zāhiriyā 118/6 (25a-40b) and the Damascus edition of *al-Hathth* at Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1348/1929-1930. Other narrators of this work through direct audition from Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāma include the hadith master Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid al-Maqdisī al-Ṣalihī, known as Ibn al-Kamāl (607-688/ 1211-1289) per ms. Berlin 1807 and “Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Zāhid al-Maqdisī” (?-?) per Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Rawdānī’s (d. 1094/1683) *Silat al-Salaf bi-Mawṣūl al-Khalaf* (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408/1988) p. 217. The major Damascene hadith master Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī (654-742/1256-1341) narrated it from the latter through direct audition (Rawdānī, p. 217) but this unknown al-Zāhid is most likely Ibn al-Kamāl.

<sup>43</sup> One of the principal jurists of the later Ḥanbalī School, author of *al-Mughnī*, a reference-book of comparative law, among other major works.

<sup>44</sup> A major pious hadith scholar from Karkh (Iraq) known as Ibn al-Tuyūrī, student of Ibn Shādhān and teacher to Abū Tāhir al-Silafī. It is said he possessed 1,000 fascicles written by al-Dāraqutnī’s own hand.

Abū al-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī b. Alḥmad b. al-Faḍl al-Azjī (356-444/967-1052) informed us (*anba’anā*) as someone read to him in Jumādā al-Ākhira 443 (October-November 1051):

Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far b. Alḥmad b. Yazdād b. Ma‘rūf the jurist, known as Ghulām al-Khallāl<sup>45</sup> (285-363/898-973) reported to us through a license of transmission (*ijāzatan*):

—al-Azjī added: someone also read before Abū al-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Sajī (d. 379/989) as I sat listening, and he said:

Abū Bakr ‘Abd al-‘Azīz<sup>46</sup> narrated to us (*haddathanā*):—

Abū Bakr Alḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Khallāl narrated to us:

**1.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: I heard a man say to Abū ‘Abd Allāh<sup>47</sup>—Allah have mercy on him: “I have

<sup>45</sup> “al-Khallāl’s Servant.” A major erudite figure of the early Ḥanbalī transmitters second only to his teacher al-Khallāl, student to Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b. Abī Shayba and teacher to Ibn Baṭṭā among many others.

<sup>46</sup> I.e. the above-mentioned Ghulām al-Khallāl. This is a second chain of transmission provided by al-Azjī to strengthen his first chain. In the first chain al-Azjī narrates directly from Ghulām al-Khallāl but through a license of transmission, without direct audition; in the second chain he narrates with direct audition but from an intermediary who had direct audition from Ghulām al-Khallāl. The second chain is technically stronger (because of *tahdīth*, direct audition, as opposed to mere *ijāza*) but the first chain is shorter and therefore more prestigious.

<sup>47</sup> I.e. Imam Alḥmad.

enough,”<sup>48</sup> whereupon he replied: “Work the market (*ilzam al-sūq*) so that you can keep family ties and give [others].”

**2.** Abū Bakr also reported to us that a man—one of the disciples of Ibn Aslam<sup>49</sup>—asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him: “Should I work in your opinion?” He replied, “Yes, and spend the surplus [of your need] on your close family as charity.”

**3.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī also reported to us that he heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say: “I ordered them—meaning his sons<sup>50</sup>—to frequent the marketplace and go into trading,” and he added: “It was related from ‘Ā’isha—Allah be well-pleased with her—that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: ‘Truly the purest and most delicious thing a man can eat is what he eats from his own earnings.’”<sup>51</sup>

**4.** Muḥammad b. al-Husayn reported to me that al-Faḍl b. Ziyād narrated to them: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh command others to work the marketplace, saying: “How excellent it is to be independent from others!”

<sup>48</sup> *Innī fī kifāya*, I have enough to suffice myself.

<sup>49</sup> “One of the trustworthy hadith masters and *abdāl* among the *awliyā’*” (al-Dhahabī): see biographical glossary.

<sup>50</sup> He had seven sons and one daughter among whom ‘Abd Allāh and Ṣāliḥ, born of different mothers, were the most famous: Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 303 §64).

<sup>51</sup> Ahmad (6:31); Abū Dāwūd (*Buyū’*, *al-rajul ya’kul min māl waladīh*); al-Nasā’i (*Buyū’*, *al-hathth ‘alā al-kashb*); and Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt*, *al-hathth ‘alā al-makāsib*); cf. al-Tirmidhī (*Aḥkām*, *mā jā’ anna al-wālid ya’khudh māl waladīh*); all with the continuation “and truly a man’s son is part of his earnings.” See also note 107.

**5.** Muḥammad b. Mūsā reported to me: I heard ‘Alī b. Ja‘far say: “My father went to see Abū ‘Abd Allāh and took me with him. He said to him: ‘Abū ‘Abd Allāh, this is my son,’ whereupon he supplicated on my behalf and told my father: ‘Let him work the marketplace and keep him away from boys his age.”<sup>52</sup>

**6.** Zakariyyā b. Yahyā—Abū Yahyā al-Nāqid—reported to me: I consulted Abū ‘Abd Allāh and said to him: ‘I rent myself out as a day labourer but my parents want me to open my own shop.’ He said: ‘So do! There might be a funeral, someone might get sick.’<sup>53</sup> I said: ‘It is hard work and my partner who is supposed to assist me does not do his part!’ He said: ‘So remind him of his duties.’ In other words the whole time he is urging to work and trade.”

**7.** ‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh —Allah Most High have mercy on him—recounted that a man said to al-Sarī b. Yahyā who used to go trading at sea: “You<sup>54</sup> go to sea in pursuit of the wares of this world?” He replied: “I love to be independent from your kind of people!”

<sup>52</sup> I.e. to protect him from bad influence.

<sup>53</sup> Meaning: you will then be in a position to help the bereaved or the sick person and their family. Al-Khallāl elsewhere related from Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh mentioned to me a poor man who was sick and said: ‘Go to him and ask him: What do you crave so that we can prepare it for you?’ [Later] he gave me something nice and said: ‘Prepare it nicely.’” Ibn al-Jawzī, *Maṇāqib* (p. 272 §51).

<sup>54</sup> I.e. a scholar such as you. Thus do many treat the ulema: they look down on them when they are poor and they question their piety when they seek income.

**8.** Yūsuf b. Mūsā reported to us that Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—was once asked about the statement of Ṭāwūs: “O Allah, keep away from me property and progeny!”<sup>55</sup> He replied: “This was indeed related from Ṭāwūs—and who was like Ṭāwūs?” Then he said: “[Nevertheless] Wealth is part of health (*al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*).”<sup>56</sup>

**9.** Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf al-Muṭṭawī reported to us: I heard Abū Bakr b. Jannād say: I heard al-Jaṣṣāṣī say: I asked Ahmād b. Ḥanbāl—Allah have mercy on him: “[Of] four dirhams of income [which is better]: a dirham from fair trade (*tijāra barra*); a dirham from brotherly ties (*ṣilat al-ikhwān*); a dirham from teaching wages (*ajr ta‘līm*); and a dirham from the land revenue (*ghalla*) of Baghdad?” He replied: “The most beloved to me is a dirham from fair trade and the most abhorrent to me is the one from brotherly ties. As for teaching wages, if one needs it one may take it; and as for the land revenue of Baghdad, you are well aware of its [controversial] status, so why ask me about it?”<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The full statement continues, “and grant me faith and deeds.” al-Khaṭīb, *Muwaddih Awhām al-Jam‘ wal-Tafrīq* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yāhiā al-Mu‘allimī, 2 vols. Hyderabad: Dā’irat al-Ma‘arif al-‘Uthmāniyya, 1378/1959) 1:14. Another version has “O Allah, deprive me of abundant property and progeny but grant me faith and deeds.” Abū Nu‘aym (4:9). “Give him wealth and progeny” was used as a curse in a sound Prophetic hadith narrated from Fuḍāla b. ‘Ubayd by al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* (18:313 §808) and Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ṣaḥīḥ* (1:438-439 §208) and in the saying of the Companions, cf. *Hathth* (Ḥaddād ed. p. 32-34).

<sup>56</sup> *al-ghinā min al-‘āfiya*, a famous advice of the great *Tābi‘ī* Abū Qilāba al-Baṣrī to Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī cf. Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Islāḥ al-Māl* (p. 76 §224).

<sup>57</sup> “Some said Baghdad is a land of despoliation (*dār ghaṣb*)... while others said it consists of endowments, however, those we have seen of

**10.** ‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī reported to us: “*Abū ‘Abd Allāh*—Allah have mercy on him—urged me to see to my estate (*day‘a*) and said:

- What a loss is the estate without its owner nearby!
- I have not visited my estate since the last time I saw you; I am keeping away from the sultan and I hate him.

I complained to him about some of my problems caused by debt and necessity. He said:

- What will you do when you cannot do without him [the sultan]? You have no choice here but to pray for him.<sup>58</sup>
- Do I really have to?
- What else can you do?

I realised he advocated toleration and indulgence (*al-tas’hil wal-rukhsa*) for the most part. He said to me spontaneously one day:

- *Abū al-Hasan*, be independent from people through your own hard work. There is nothing better than independence from people in my eyes!
- Why are you telling me this?
- Because if you have something, you can improve it, live in it, and develop it some more. You can do without the help of others thanks to it. Truly wealth is part of health!

the scholars, judges, witnesses and jurists all agree that the land of Baghdad belongs to its respective owners and is valid to inherit, fructify and sell without reservation, and their ruling is conclusive.” *al-Khaṭīb, Tārikh Baghdaḍ* (1:21-22).

<sup>58</sup> Meaning: accept his gifts of land and monetary support and pray for him.

Thus he insisted on maintenance and development (*al-islāh*) for me more than once, and to pursue independence from people through improvement of whatever I had been granted; and he criticised dependence on people in the harshest terms. I continued:

- Our estate is part of al-Raqqa<sup>59</sup> a few days away and there is a Christian monastery. They live in complete isolation from people. There is only a small number of Christians there, and there is a town not far from it.
- What town?
- Well, it has a muezzin.
- Is it part of Syro-Palestine (al-Shām)<sup>60</sup>?
- No, it is part of Upper Mesopotamia (al-Jazīra)<sup>61</sup> toward Ra's al-'Ayn.<sup>62</sup>
- A fine spot. (He meant for the monastery.)
- There is just one thing that worries me. The monastery is isolated and there is no one there except Christians; but I dislike the fact that whenever I want to pray I cannot find anyone to pray with me.
- When it is time to pray raise the call to prayer then the last call (*iqāma*); if anyone shows up pray with them, otherwise pray alone.

<sup>59</sup> An Iraqi city that was the imperial capital in Abbasid times, on the north bank of the Euphrates in present-day north central Syria about 160 km east of Aleppo. Ḳiffīn was part of al-Raqqa and hence it houses the tomb of Uways al-Qarānī who died in that battle.

<sup>60</sup> Present-day Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Jordan.

<sup>61</sup> *Jazīra* means “island” in reference to the area between the Tigris and the Euphrates i.e. northwestern Iraq, northeastern Syria and southeastern Turkey. Its major cities are Mosul, Deir ez-Zor, Raqqā, al-Ḥasaka, Buṣayra, Diyārbakr, Qāmishlī and Mārdīn: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Jazira,\\_Mesopotamia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Jazira,_Mesopotamia).

<sup>62</sup> A city of north Syria on the Turkish border, part of al-Hasaka governorate.

So Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—thought well of that place and was keen for me to live there. He was evidently happy when I described it to him and how isolated it was. I said:

- The town is just over a *mīl*<sup>63</sup> away from me so I can go there for Jumu‘a and do my prayers the rest of the week in the monastery.
- In that place what can you do if you have no one to pray with you? Just raise the first and final calls to prayer then pray alone.

I would see Abū ‘Abd Allāh go and fix something with his own hand. He would mend whatever needed mending and frequently checked his living quarters. I visited him more than once at night (*baytan*) and saw him striking the ground with his hand and leveling the soil with his own hand.<sup>64</sup>

**11.** Muḥammad b. Mūsā reported to me: Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—said to me in 219 (834) the year al-Mu‘taṣim came to power,<sup>65</sup> when I visited him as he was buttressing something with mud with his own hand: “For this,” he said, gesturing toward the residents, as if saying he was mending it to lease it out (*lil-kirā*).

**12.** Zuhayr b. Ṣalih b. Alīmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah be well-

<sup>63</sup> The *mīl* is variously defined by the lexicographers as the distance as far as the eye can see or one third of a parasang, which comes to 1 English mile=1.609km.

<sup>64</sup> This detail is meant to illustrate what Imam Alīmad meant by his advice and also to show that he humbly practised what he preached.

<sup>65</sup> The Berlin ms. has “in 217.”

pleased with him—said: I heard my father [Şâlih] say: “At times he [Ahmad] would take the adze (*qadūm*) and go to someone’s residence to do some manual labour.

**13.** Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn reported to us that Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāni’ narrated to them: Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—once told me:

*A little property you maintain will endure,  
but even a vast property is lost when it goes to ruin.*<sup>66</sup>

**14.** Hārūn b. Ziyād reported to us: Ibn Abī ‘Umar narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: from Mis‘ar: from Sa‘d b. Ibrāhīm: from Ḥumayd b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, that ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Allah be well-pleased with him—said: “I fear foolish mismanagement (*khurq*) for you more than destitution (*‘awaz*)! Nothing is lost through repair but nothing remains once it gets ruined.”<sup>67</sup>

**15.** Ḥarb b. Ismā‘il reported to me: al-Musayyab b. Wādīḥ narrated to us: Ash‘ath—Ibn Shu‘ba—said: “I said to

<sup>66</sup> Said by the poet al-Mutalammis al-Ḏuba‘ī cf. Ibn Qutayba, *‘Uyūn al-Akhabār* (4 vols. Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wal-Wathā’iq al-Qawmiyya, 1996) 2:195 and elsewhere.

<sup>67</sup> The context was that news had reached ‘Umar that someone in a detachment riding back from al-Qādisiyya had a mare that gave birth in the night but in the morning he slaughtered the foal—a common practice—saying: “What, am I going to live to ride it?” ‘Umar wrote: “Take good care of whatever property Allah bestows on you and there is plenty of time for such a matter.” Hannād b. Sarī, *al-Zuhd* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fariyawā‘ī, 2 vols., Kuwait: Dār al-Khulafā’ lil-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1406/1985) 2:655 §1441; Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ, *al-Zuhd* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fariyawā‘ī, 3 vols., Madina: Maktabat al-Dār, 1404/1984) 3:785 §470; al-Bukhārī, *al-Adab al-Mufrad* (ed. Samīr Zuhayrī, 2 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Ma‘ārif, 1419/1998) 1:242 §478, *Bāb iṣṭinā‘ al-māl*.

Ibrāhīm b. Ad'ham<sup>68</sup>: ‘I work for hire in the marketplace and at times I miss the congregational prayer.’ He said: ‘Work for hire for a while so that you will become self-sufficient, and do your prayers on time.’”<sup>69</sup>

**16.** Abū Bakr al-Marwadī reported to us: I heard Abū Ja‘far al-Khurāsānī say: I heard Shu‘ayb say: I asked Sufyān al-Thawrī<sup>70</sup>: “What do you see about a bleacher (*qaṣṣār*) who earns one dirham in which is his and his dependants’ sustenance, but he cannot make it to the congregational prayer; however, if he merely earns four *dawāniq*<sup>71</sup> he can make it to the congregational prayer but does not have enough to feed both himself and his dependants: which is better?” He replied: “For him to earn a dirham and pray alone is preferable.”<sup>72</sup>

**17.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdī reported to us: I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “What was the reason Sufyān al-Thawrī travelled to Yemen?” He replied: “For trade and to meet Ma‘mar.” They said: “He had one hundred dinars?” He replied: “Seventy for certain” (*ammā sab‘ūn fa-ṣahīha*).

<sup>68</sup> A major ascetic, see biographical dictionary.

<sup>69</sup> I.e. the worker may not be able to attend the congregation (*jamā‘a*) without permission from the employer but the latter cannot prevent him from at least performing prayers on time, individually. In contexts of outright hostility the Shari‘a, moreover, permits praying in a manner unnoticeable to others.

<sup>70</sup> Another famous ascetic, see biographical dictionary.

<sup>71</sup> The *dāniq* is one sixth of a dirham, so four *dawāniq* are 2/3 of a dirham. See al-Harīrī, *Maqāyīs*, s.v.

<sup>72</sup> See to that effect the biographical notice on Sufyān and his reply to Ibn Mahdī who was missing congregational prayers for the sake of serving him on his deathbed. This all refers to strict necessity. Workers or merchants who have more than a day’s need are of course not excused.

**18.** Yāḥyā b. Ṭalīb al-Anṭākī reported to us: al-Musayyab b. Wādīḥ narrated to us: Yūsuf b. Asbāt said to me: “Sufyān al-Thawrī died leaving 200 dinars.” I asked him: “How did he, the ascetic (*zāhid*) among scholars, have 200 dinars?” He replied: ‘Time after time he would place something (*yadā` al-shay'*) with his brothers, and blessings ensued for him because of that.<sup>73</sup> He would say: ‘Never were resources (*al-quwwa*) more beneficial for those who have them since Allah Most High sent Muḥammad—upon him blessings and peace—than in our time.’”<sup>74</sup>

**19.** Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Mukram reported to me: I heard Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zāhid (the Ascetic) say that a man asked Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna: “Can someone be an ascetic when he owns 100 dinars?” He replied yes. “How?” the man asked. Sufyān replied: “If it gets depleted he does not worry and if it increases he does not rejoice, nor does he abhor parting with it through death.”

**20.** ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn reported to us: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Aṭṭār narrated to me: Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Aswad said: from ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā who said: I heard Sufyān al-Thawrī say: “Money in our time is a weapon.”

**21.** al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb reported to me: Abū Bakr—i.e. b. Ḥammād al-Muqrī—narrated to us: Aḥmad b. Ya‘qūb narrated to us: Abū al-Fath [Naṣr b. al-Mughīra]

<sup>73</sup> I.e. in the form of investments, partnership, loans, gifts, deposits, or storage of goods.

<sup>74</sup> Also related as “Never before were assets (*al-‘udda*) so vital as in our time.” Abū Nu‘aym (6:380).

narrated to us: “Sufyān disparaged those people—those who do not view work [as licit] (*al-ladhīna lā yaraawn al-‘amal*). He also said: ‘Abū Bakr—i.e. al-Ṣiddīq—saw a young man begging (*yas’al*) so he hired him to work for him.”<sup>75</sup>

**22.** Aḥmad b. Maṇṣūr al-Ramādī reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Muḥammad b. Thawr narrated to us: Sufyān al-Thawrī would pass by us as we sat in the Sacred Mosque and ask: “What made you sit here?” They said: “What else can we do?” He said: “Ask for the bounty of Allah and do not be dependants of the Muslims.”<sup>75</sup>

**23.** ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal—Allah be well-pleased with him—narrated to us: Muḥannā narrated to me: Abū Ḥazim—a shaykh that lived in our area in Acre (‘Akkā)—narrated to me that Sufyān al-Thawrī said: “It is incumbent on a man to seek knowledge if he has his pittance [*lit.* a palmful of food].”

**23a.** I also heard Muḥammad b. Isḥāq mention: from ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Sa‘īd: from Ibn Abī ‘Utba: from Sufyān al-Thawrī: “If you have wheat then turn to worship; if not then seek after it”—meaning seek its lawful portion (*ya‘nī min hillih*).

**24.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Abū Ja‘far al-Khurāsānī say: Abū Ṣalīḥ narrated to us: I heard Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ say to Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb: “Do you realise that seeking a lawful income is a categorical obligation (*fariḍa*)?” He said yes.

<sup>75</sup> Also related from ‘Umar by Ibn Abī al-Dunyā in *Islāḥ al-Māl* (p. 74 §219).

**25.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: from Abū ‘Abd Allāh: from Abū Ja‘far al-Hadhdhā: from Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb: “Do not scorn a penny (*fals*) you acquire by obeying Allah. You might buy with it beans that will hardly settle in your stomach before all your sins are forgiven.”

**26.** Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Muqrī reported to us: Yūsuf b. Muslim narrated to us: I heard ‘Alī b. Bakkār say: “Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham used to work for hire (*kāna yu’ājir nafsaḥ*), Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ scavenged (*yalqut*)<sup>76</sup> and Ḥudhayfa [al-Mar‘ashī] was a brickmaker (*yadrib al-labin*).”

**27.** Aḥmad b. al-Faraj Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī reported to us: Baqīyya narrated to us that whenever someone asked Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham “How are you?” he would reply: “I am well as long as no one other than myself carries the burden of feeding me.”

**28.** Ḥarb b. Ismā‘il reported to us: al-Musayyab b. Wādīḥ narrated to us: Ash‘ath b. Shu‘ba said: Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham said to one of his brothers: “Do not be without a trade (*hirfa*). When you have that, you have work; but when you have no trade you will be notorious (*‘urifta*).”<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> I.e. spoiled or discarded food or garments, or the ears of grain which the sickles had missed during harvest, etc. See biographical entry on Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ.

<sup>77</sup> I.e. you will be labeled as someone in need, which is tantamount to begging as Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham narrated from Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab: “Whoever keeps to the mosque and quits his trade and accepts every donation has begged with importunity (*qad al-hafā fil-su’āl*).” Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *Iṣlāḥ al-Māl* (p. 76 §228).

**29.** Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-Azdī reported to us: Tāhir b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī narrated to us: al-Fayḍ b. Iṣhāq narrated to us: I asked al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād: “If a man were to sit in his house claiming that he trusts in Allah and his sustenance will come to him [what is his status]?” He replied: “It means that when he trusts in Allah until he is sure that he most certainly trusts in Him, there is nothing preventing him if that is what he wants. However, neither the Prophets nor the non-Prophets did this. Prophets used to work for hire. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—worked for hire, as did Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. They never said, ‘We shall sit at home until Allah sends sustenance.’ Indeed, Allah Most High said in His Book, *and seek after the bounty of Allah* (al-Jumu‘a 62:10). Therefore one must work for a living.”

**30.** ‘Umar b. ‘Alī reported to me: Hārūn b. Sufyān al-Mustamlī narrated to us: I heard Aswad b. Salīm say: “Buy and sell even without any gain.”

**31.** ‘Abd al-Malik [b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd] al-Maymūnī reported to me: Abū al-‘Abbās [Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Asamm] the companion of Abū ‘Utba<sup>78</sup> narrated to me: I asked Bishr b. al-Ḥārith about earning [a livelihood] and he said: “Yes, by my life!” as if to say he did not accept any alternative. He also said: “One must be watchful over one’s [lawful] income, sustenance, and residence. One must scrutinise one’s trade.”

**32.** Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barāthī reported to us: When news of what was spent on us out of our

<sup>78</sup> See §27 and §42.

father's inheritance reached Bishr b. al-Hārith he said to me: "It grieves me to hear that so much of that wealth was spent on you. You must go gently and spend frugally. I would much prefer for you to sleep hungry but be in possession of your wealth than sated but deprived of it!"<sup>79</sup>

**32a.** [al-Barāthī continued:] Bishr also said to me in the same exchange: "News has reached me that you are not keeping a work schedule at the marketplace. Keep a work schedule at the marketplace!" Then we talked some more and again he said: "Keep a work schedule at the marketplace even if not." It came to my heart that he meant: even if you make no profit. He also said: "Give salam to your mother and tell her to go gently and spend frugally."

**33.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to me that he heard one of his shaykhs say: I heard Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī say: "Twelve dirhams a year are enough for me—one dirham a month. The only thing that pushes me to work is the tongue of those devotees (*qurrā'*)<sup>80</sup> who keep asking: 'From where does Abū Yūsuf get his sustenance?'"

**34.** Abū Bakr also reported to us: I heard Ḥaramī b. Yūsuf say: I heard Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī say: "I have been the jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my food for 60 years."

<sup>79</sup> This is advice from Bishr al-Ḥāfi against extravagance and luxury and a confirmation that savings are not only lawful but advisable.

<sup>80</sup> The word *qurrā'* (sing. *qāri'*) literally means "Qur'ān reciters" but here refers to uneducated worshipers as in the saying reported from Mālik b. Dīnār and Ḥabīb al-Fārisī: "I swear that *shayyān* plays with the *qurrā'* the way little boys play with marbles," after which Ibn al-Jawzī comments: "What is meant by *al-qurrā'* is *al-zuhhād*, it is an o and well-known appellation for them." Ibn al-Jazwī, *Talbīs* (2:915-917 §174-175).

**35.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to me: I heard Isḥāq b. Dāwūd say: I heard al-Ḥasan b. al-Rabī‘ say: “I would prefer to earn a single *qīrāṭ*<sup>81</sup> rather than have someone help me out with ten dirhams.”

**36.** Abū Bakr also reported to me: I heard Muḥammad b. Muqātil say: “A man must scrutinise the provenance of his daily bread and the provenance of his dirham. Sufyān said: ‘Do the deeds of heroes—meaning earn a lawful living.’”<sup>82</sup>

**37.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that he read before Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—that Ibn Mahdī related from Sufyān: from ‘Amr b. Qays: from ‘Āsim: from Abū Wā’il: “One dirham from trade is dearer to me than ten from a donation.”

**38.** Ḥarb reported to me: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ju‘fī narrated to us: Abū Usāma narrated to us: from Yazīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī: from al-Ḥasan: “There are two delicious foods: a man’s load on his back and the work of his hand.”

**39.** Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī reported to me: ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabī‘a narrated to us: Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us: from Sufyān: from ‘Amr b. Qays: from ‘Āsim b. Abī al-Najūd: from Abū Wā’il, this hadith:

<sup>81</sup> One sixteenth of a dirham. See al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāyīs*, s.v.

<sup>82</sup> Sufyān’s full statement is “Do the deeds of heroes: earn a lawful livelihood and spend on your dependants” (*‘alayka bi-‘amal al-abṭāl: al-kasb min al-ḥalāl wal-infāq ‘alā al-‘iyāl*), also related as a saying of Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham, Muḥammad b. Wāsi‘, Ibn al-Mubārak, and even as a Prophetic hadith cf. *Hathth*, al-Haddād ed. (p. 63).

**40.** Muḥammad also reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from ‘Amr b. Qays: from ‘Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd: from Abū Wā’il: “One dirham from trade is more beloved to me than ten from a donation.”<sup>83</sup>

**41.** al-Ḥasan b. ‘Arafa<sup>84</sup> reported to us: Qudāma b. Shihāb al-Māzinī al-Baṣrī narrated to me: from Ismā‘īl b. Abī Khālid: from Wabara: from Ibn ‘Umar: the Prophet—Allah bless and salute him—was asked about the purest earning (*atyab al-kash*) and he replied: “The work of a man’s own hand and every lawful-and-blessed sale (*bay‘ mabrūr*).”<sup>85</sup>

**42.** Aḥmad b. al-Faraj Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī reported to us: Baqiyya [b. al-Walīd] narrated to us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam;<sup>86</sup>

**42a.** Aḥmad also reported to us: al-Ḥasan [b. ‘Alī b. ‘Affān al-Kūfi] narrated to us: Yaḥyā b. Ādām narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Salām [b. Ḥarb] and Ibn al-Mubārak narrated to us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam: from Mujāhid, concerning the saying of Allah Most High, *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:57 and 2:172; Sūrat al-A‘rāf 7:160; Sūrat Tāhā 20:81), that he said: “Trade.”<sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> This brings to three the prestigious narrators of the same report (§§37, 39-40): Ibn Mahdī, Ibn al-Mubārak, and Wakī‘, all of them from Sufyān with the same chain between the latter and Abū Wā’il.

<sup>84</sup> A major hadith scholar, see biographical glossary.

<sup>85</sup> al-Ṭabarānī through trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (4:61) and it is confirmed by many Companions cf. Ḥathth (Ḥaddād ed. p. 66-69).

<sup>86</sup> First of two chains through Abū ‘Utba al-Ḥimṣī for the report.

<sup>87</sup> Some mss. (cf. Riyadh University ms. Majmū‘ 1928 and Zāhiriyya ms. 116) here erroneously have *eat of the pure things you have earned* which

**43.** al-Hasan b. ‘Alī reported to us: Yahyā b. Ādam narrated to us: Warqā’ narrated to us: from Ibn Abī Najīḥ: from Mujāhid, concerning the saying of Allah Most High *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (*Sūrat al-Baqara* 2:267): “From trade.”<sup>88</sup>

**44.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: al-Warkānī narrated to us: al-Mu‘āfā b. ‘Imrān narrated to us: from Sufyān: from al-A‘mash: from Ibrāhīm who said: “It used to be said that the trader is better than the idler (*al-tājir khayrun min al-jālis*).”

**45.** ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal reported to us: my father—Allah have mercy on him—narrated to me: Sufyān [b. ‘Uyayna] narrated to us: from Abū Ishāq: “They considered affluence (*sa‘a*) a help in one’s religion.” Sufyān was asked: “Sufyān al-Thawrī mentioned that?” He said yes.<sup>89</sup>

**46.** Muḥammad b. Maḥdī b. Ja‘far al-Ṣūrī reported to us in Tyre (*Ṣūr*): I heard my father say: “I was in Tarsus

blurs together two verses: *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* (see above) and *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (*Sūrat al-Baqara* 2:267) which comes up several times in the next pages. Al-Kawtharī preserved this error in his edition of *al-Hathth* while Abū Ghudda changed it to *eat of the pure things we have granted you for sustenance* and al-Haddad changed it to *spend of the pure things you have earned*. The only authentic version of Mujāhid’s gloss appears to be the latter (2:267) as gleaned from the dition of his own *Tafsīr* as well as those of Sa‘id b. Maṇṣūr, Tabarī, Ibn Abī Ḥātim, Ibn al-Mundhir, Abū Hayyān.

<sup>88</sup> See also §§55, 65.

<sup>89</sup> To ascertain the narrative chain for this specific narration since both Sufyāns generally took hadith from Abū Ishāq (see him in the biographical glossary) but Ibn ‘Uyayna also narrated from him through al-Thawrī’s intermediary.

(Tarasūs) when al-Ma'mūn came there, bringing with him Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah have mercy on him—and Ibn Nūḥ, both of them in chains.<sup>90</sup> Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal wrote to me on a slip of paper: ‘You are aware of our situation, were it not for which I would have come to you. However, if you can possibly come to see us then do.’ I went to see them and was able to speak to them. Among the reports Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal—Allah have mercy on him—wrote from me: Dāmra narrated to us: from Rajā' b. Abī Salama: from ‘Abd Rabbih b. Sulaymān b. Zunbūr: from Ibn Muḥayrīz: ‘There is no food that fills the space between my two flanks after I have toiled more beloved to me, even the daintiest dishes, than the food of a truthful merchant (*tājir ṣadūq*).’”

**47.** Bishr b. Mūsā al-Asadī wrote me: ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣalīḥ al-‘Ijlī narrated to us: Isrā’īl narrated to us: from Abū Ḥamza: “I asked Ibrāhīm [= al-Nakha‘ī] about a man who quits trade—meaning he devotes himself to prayer; and another man who busies himself with trading: which is better? He replied: ‘A trustworthy trader.’”

**48.** al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Affān reported to us: Yaḥyā b. ‘Affān narrated to us: Qays [b. al-Rabī‘] narrated to us: from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Atā’: from Abū Ja‘far: “At the time [‘Uthmān] b. ‘Affān was killed the [yearly] revenue (*ghalla*) of his datepalm orchards had reached 100,000 [dinars].<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> It must have been other than Ibn Nūḥ (see biographies) since he had fallen sick and died in Anah (‘Āna), an Iraqi town near the Euphrates about 320km west of Baghdad—where Alḥmad prayed over him and buried him—after being taken from his home in Baghdad to al-Raqqa in Syria, long before reaching Tarsus.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. “The agricultural land revenue (*kharāj*) of Samarra (Surramanra‘ā) was 400,000 dinars a year.” al-Ya‘qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* (Leiden: Brill,

**49.** al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī reported to us—I myself asked him: Ja‘far b. ‘Awn narrated to us: al-A‘mash narrated to us: from Salama: from Abū Zabyān: ‘Umar said: “Abū Zabyān, invest in some holdings (*ittakhidh mālan*).”<sup>92</sup>

**50.** Ahmad b. Manṣūr Zāj al-Marrūdhī reported to us: al-Nadr b. Shumayl narrated to us: Shu‘ba b. al-Hajjāj narrated to us: I heard Qatāda say: I heard Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shikhhīr say: from Ḥakīm b. Qays b. ‘Āsim: from his father, that the latter counseled his sons: “You must have wealth and increase it (*‘alaykum bil-māl wa-iṣṭinā‘ih*),<sup>93</sup> for it is the incentive (*manbaha*) of the generous and provides autonomy from the misers. Never ask others. Asking [people] is a man’s last avenue of income. When I die do not wail over me. No one wailed over the Messenger of Allah—Allah bless and greet him.”

**51.** Ḥarb b. Ismā‘il al-Kirmānī reported to us: Bashshār b. Mūsā narrated to us: ‘Abbād narrated to us: Yahyā b. Sa‘īd narrated to us: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab: “There is no goodness in someone who does not seek wealth by which to repay his debt, preserve his good name (*‘ird*), meet his

1892) p. 364. Abū Ja‘far is Muḥammad al-Bāqir, b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

<sup>92</sup> Namely livestock, as explicitly mentioned in another version whereby ‘Umar asked: “How much do you own, Abū Zabyān?” “Presently I have 2,500 [dinars].” “So invest in some livestock; soon little boys (*ughaylima*, i.e. the Umayyads) from Quraysh will come [to power] and prevent this [kind of] gift.” Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm* (Cairo: Idārat al-Ṭibā‘at al-Munīriyya, 1346?/1928?) 2:14.

<sup>93</sup> Other versions of this report have: “You must tend to your property” (*‘alaykum bi-iṣṭilāh al-māl*) cf. al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* (18:340 §870); Ibn Shabba, *Tārikh al-Madīnat al-Munawwara* (ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad Dandal and Yāsīn Sa‘d al-Dīn Bayān, 2 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1417/1996) 2:533.

responsibilities, and if he dies he leaves it as an inheritance to those after him.”

**52.** Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Āḥmasī reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Sufyān: from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab that the latter left a few dinars [for his heirs] and said: “O Allah! You know that I did not gather it other than to maintain my religion and my good name. There is no good in someone who does not gather wealth with which he can repay his debt and protect his reputation (*yakuffu bihi wajhah*).”

**53.** Ḥarb b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Abū Ma‘n al-Raqāshī narrated to us: ‘Umar b. Dharr informed us: from Mujāhid: “When Allah grants one of you a thousand dirhams, let him not spend it and then say ‘Allah will sustain me.’ Rather, let him seek within it of the bounty of Allah.”<sup>94</sup>

**54.** Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Mūsā b. ‘Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī: from his father: I heard ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ say:

The Messenger of Allah—Allah bless and salute him—said to me: “‘Amr, get dressed, gird your weapon and come and see me.” I did so and found him making his ablution. He trained his eye on me to make sure who it was and said: “‘Amr, I want to send you in a certain direction where Allah Almighty will keep you safe and enrich you. It is my good wish for you that you come into wealth.” I said: “Messenger of

<sup>94</sup> I.e. put it to work wisely in between avarice and prodigality, cf. *And do not keep your hand chained to your neck (when spending), nor open it completely, so that you will sit blamed and destitute* (Sūrat al-Isrā’ 17:29).

Allah, I did not submit out of desire for wealth but only out of desire for jihad and always being with you.” He said: ‘Amr, righteous wealth for a righteous person is a wonderful thing!’<sup>95</sup>

**55.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Shu‘ba: from al-Ḥakam: from Mujāhid, [regarding] *spend out of the pure things you have earned* (*Sūrat al-Baqara 2:267*): “From trade.”<sup>96</sup>

**56.** Muḥammad reported to us: Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq narrated to us: from his father: from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā: “Dāwūd the Prophet—upon him peace—said: “What wonderful helpers (*‘awn*) are wealth (*ghinā*) and affluence (*yasār*) toward religion!”<sup>97</sup>

**57.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from al-‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyab: from [Wahb] Ibn Munabbih: “Poverty is certainly the greatest death.”

**58.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Muḥammad b. Salīm: from Ibnu Abī Mulayka: from ‘Ā’isha: “Abū Bakr—Allah be well-pleased with him—was the most

<sup>95</sup> Alḥmad (4:202-203) and others through the narrators of al-Bukhārī or Muslim cf. al-Haythamī (4:64).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. §§43, 65.

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Musannaf* (ed. Mukhtār Alḥmad al-Nadwī, 2nd ed., 15 vols., Mumbai: al-Dār al-Salafiyya, 1399/1979) 13:204 §16111. A Prophetic hadith narrated from Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī states “Truly this money is verdant and sweet; whoever takes it rightfully and puts it in its rightful place, what a wonderful helper it is!” al-Bukhārī (*Riqāq, mā yuḥḍhar min zahrat al-dunyā*) and Muslim (*Zakāt, takhawwuf mā yakhrūj min zahrat al-dunyā*).

trade-proficient (*atjar*) of all Quraysh until he became involved in governance.”

**59.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from al-A‘mash: from Khaythama: Abū al-Dardā—Allah be well-pleased with him—said: “I was a merchant before Allah sent forth the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace. When the Prophet was sent I wanted to join between trading and worship but this proved impossible. So I quit trading and turned to worship.”<sup>98</sup>

**60.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Mis‘ar: from Abū Yahyā:<sup>99</sup> from a shaykh of theirs: “I saw ‘Alī wearing a coarse waist-wrap. He said: ‘I bought it for five dirhams; whoever gives me a dirham of profit for it, I will sell it to him.’”

**61.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from Sharīk: from Simāk b. Ḥarb: from ‘Ikrima: from Ibn ‘Abbās—Allah be well-pleased with him and his father: “A camel caravan reached Madina. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—bought [on credit] from them and [later sold the wares and] made a few ounces of profit which he distributed among the widows of Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He then said: ‘I will no longer buy anything unless I have its price.’”<sup>100</sup>

<sup>98</sup> This position is well-established on the part of Abū al-Dardā’. Other cases of similar dedication were Abū Hurayra and al-Bukhārī, who pursued the acquisition of knowledge full-time even when famished. Others such as Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf etc. were able to join trade and worship: *Hathth* (al-Haddād ed. p. 92-96).

<sup>99</sup> This is Yazīd b. al-Kalā‘ī, an unknown; cf. Abū Nu‘aym (7:269-270).

<sup>100</sup> Alīmad (1:235); Abū Dāwūd (*Buyū‘*, *al-tashdīd fil-dayn*), and al-

**62.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from ‘Amr b. ‘Isā b. Na‘āma: Ḥurayth b. al-Rabī‘ al-‘Adawī narrated to us: I heard ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb say:

Three types of travel have been made obligatory for you: *Hajj*, *Umra*, and when a man seeks [the bounty of Allah] in any one of those [well-known licit] ways. Then the one who is self-sufficient (*al-mustaghnī*) and the one who gives charity (*al-mutāṣaddiq*)—meaning: they are better [than those who are not self-sufficient nor able to give charity]. By Allah! if I were to die in any one of those ways it would be lovelier to me than dying in my own bed; and if you called it martyrdom (*shahāda*) I would certainly consider it martyrdom.<sup>101</sup>

**63.** Yahyā reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb narrated to us: Sa‘īd informed us: from Qatāda: from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb:

**O people! It was proclaimed as an obligation upon you<sup>102</sup> that each of you must use his wealth to seek something of the bounty of Allah. Therein lie true**

Hākim, *Mustadrak* (2:24). “Lest he get into debt and then cannot repay, because it might lead to his dying in a state of debt”: Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sindī, *Ḩāsiyat Muṣnad al-Imām Aḥyād b. Ḥanbāl* (ed. Nūr al-Dīn Ṭālib, 17 vols., Qatar: Wizārat al-Awqāf wal-Shū‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, 1428/2008) 2:356 §1224.

<sup>101</sup> The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—had called ‘Umar a *shāhid* on several occasions and the latter often prayed for “martyrdom in Madina” to the point his daughter wondered how it would reach him there. He replied to her—as he also did from the pulpit on Jumu‘a: “Truly, the One who brought me out from Makkah unto migration to Madina is able to bring me martyrdom in it!” al-Ṭabarānī in *al-Awsat* through trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (9:54-55), cf. al-Bukhārī (*Fadā’il al-Madīna, karāha an tu‘rā al-Madīna*), from Aslam.

<sup>102</sup> MSS.: *khudhibā ‘alaykum* and *kutiba ‘alaykum*, which are synonymous.

**worship and the confirmation of faith** (*al-taṣdīq*). I swear it by Allah! If I were to die sitting between the two pommels of my saddle while roaming the earth seeking the bounty of Allah with my capital, it would be lovelier to me than to die in my own bed.

**64.** Yahyā reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā’ al-‘Ijlī narrated to us: Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba informed us: from Qatāda b. Dī‘āma who said regarding this verse: *Believers! Do not wrongfully consume each other’s wealth except through mutually agreed trade* (*Sūrat al-Nisā’* 4:29):<sup>103</sup>

Trade (*tijāra*) here is one of the types of sustenance granted by Allah (*rizqun min rizq Allāh*) and one of the types of licit income granted by Allah (*ḥalālun min halāl Allāh*) for whoever pursues it with its requisite truthfulness and piety (*bi-ṣidqihā wa-birrihā*).

**65.** Yahyā reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb informed us: Shu‘ba informed us: from al-Ḥakam b. ‘Utayba: from Mujāhid who said regarding this verse, *Believers! spend out of the pure things you have earned* (*Sūrat al-Baqara* 2:267): “Out of trade.”<sup>104</sup>

**66.** Yahyā narrated to me: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb informed us: Sa‘īd informed us: from Qatāda: “It used to be narrated to

<sup>103</sup> Mistranslated by Muhammad Asad as “Do not devour one another’s possessions wrongfully—not even by way of trade based on mutual agreement” as he did not understand that the exceptive *illā* here denotes a “dissociated exception” (*istithnā’ munfasil/munqati’*) in the sense of “but rather” cf. Wright, *Grammar of Arabic* ii.335D (§186) and linguistic commentaries (e.g. al-Zamakhsharī, al-Bayḍawī, Ibn ‘Aṭiyya, Abū al-Su‘ūd...).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. §43, §55.

us<sup>105</sup> that the truthful and trustworthy merchant (*al-tājir al-ṣadūq al-amīn*) is with the seven [types] that are in the shade of the Throne on the Day of Resurrection.”<sup>106</sup>

**67.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: from Abū ‘Abd Allāh: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ma‘mar informed us: Hammām b. Munabbih narrated to us: “This is what Abū Hurayra narrated to us from the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace: ‘Dāwūd never ate other than from the work of his own hand.’”<sup>107</sup>

**68.** Ḥarb reported to me: Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān reported to me: Abū Usāma narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father [‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr]: “Dāwūd addressed people from his pulpit while plaiting palm-leaves (*khūs*) with his hand. He made large baskets (*quffa*) and other things with it. Then he would send it out with whoever was in charge of selling it and he would eat from its proceeds.”<sup>108</sup>

**69.** Ḥarb reported to me: Alīmad b. Ḥanbal narrated to us: Hārūn narrated to us: Dāmra narrated to us: from

<sup>105</sup> When a *Tābi‘ī* says this it implies such a saying was narrated from several Companions and was widespread among them.

<sup>106</sup> Narrated as a Prophetic hadith from Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī in the wording “the truthful and trustworthy merchant is with the Prophets, the *Ṣiddiqīn*, the *Shuhada’* and the *Ṣāliḥīn* on the Day of Resurrection” by al-Tirmidhī (*Buyū’*, *mā jā’ fi tark al-shubuhat*) and Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt*, *al-hathth ‘alā al-kasb*).

<sup>107</sup> Alīmad (2:214); cf. al-Bukhārī (*Buyū’*, *kasb al-rajul wa-‘amaluh bi-yadih*) from al-Miqdām in the wording: “No one ever ate better food than the work of his hand. Truly the Prophet of Allah, Dāwūd—upon him peace, used to eat from the work of his hand.”

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Abī Shayba, *Muṣannaf* (11:551) as a saying of ‘Urwa.

[‘Uthmān] Ibn ‘Aṭā’: from his father [‘Aṭā’ al-Khurāsānī]: “Sulaymān b. Dāwūd plaited palm-leaves with his own hands and ate barley bread.”<sup>109</sup>

**70.** Ḥarb reported to me: ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān narrated to us: Hushaym narrated to us: al-‘Awwām b. Ḥawshab informed us: al-Qāsim b. ‘Awf reported to me that Ka'b [al-Aḥbār] said: “Idrīs [the Prophet] was a righteous man who devoted himself to worshipping Allah, fasted and prayed. He was a taylor (*khayyāt*) and gave alms out of the surplus of his income.”

**71.** Ḥarb reported to me: ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān narrated to us: Hammād b. Salama informed us;

**71a.** also, al-Dūrī reported to us: ‘Ārim narrated to us: Hammād b. Salama narrated to us: from Thābit: from Abū Rāfi‘: from Abū Hurayra: the Messenger of Allah, upon him blessings and peace, said: “Zakariyyā was a carpenter.”<sup>110</sup>

**72.** al-‘Abbās al-Dūrī reported to us: ‘Ārim narrated to us: Hammād b. Salama narrated to us: ‘Alī b. Zayd narrated to us: from Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyab: “Luqmān was a taylor.”<sup>111</sup>

**73.** ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Maymūnī reported to us: Hārūn b. Ma‘rūf narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: “It is not part of your love for this world to pursue, out of it, what improves your situation.”

<sup>109</sup> Alḥmad, *Zuhd* (p. 115) with the continuation: “barley bread with pits in it, and he would feed the Israelites nuts.”

<sup>110</sup> Alḥmad (2:296), Muslim (*Fadā'il, Zakariyyā*), Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt, ḥinā‘at*).

<sup>111</sup> Alḥmad, *Zuhd* (p. 64).

**74.** Yazīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Asbahānī reported to me: al-Husayn b. Muhammad b. Sinān al-Makkī narrated to us: I read before al-Ḥasan b. al-Faraj that Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna was asked about sustenance (*al-qūt*) and its strict minimum: “Is there any accounting for it?” He said no.

**75.** Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Waki‘ informed us: from Ḥammād b. Salama: from Hishām b. Zayd; from Anas b. Mālik: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “If Resurrection rises while one of you is holding a seedling in his hand, let him plant it.”<sup>112</sup>

**76.** Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāzim reported to us that Ishāq b. Manṣūr narrated to them that he asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh about the saying of ‘Alī [b. Abī Ṭālib, Allah be well-pleased with him]: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses (*nafaqa*); whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure (*kanz*).”<sup>113</sup> Aḥmad said: “It means one must not keep to himself more than 4,000.”<sup>114</sup> Ishāq b. Manṣūr said: Ishāq b. Rāhīyah said: “It means the 4,000 he needs, as if he were saying he will not be accountable for them, but whatever is more than that is a treasure—and when *zakāt* is remitted out of a treasure it is no longer called a treasure.”

**77.** Muḥammad b. Ayyūb reported to us: Waki‘ narrated to us: from Sufyān: from Abū Ḥaṣīn [‘Uthmān b. ‘Āṣim al-Asadī]: from Abū al-Ḍuhā [Muslim b. Ṣubayḥ]: from Ja‘da

<sup>112</sup> Aḥmad (3:184) and others through highly trustworthy narrators cf. al-Haythamī (4:64).

<sup>113</sup> A reference to the saying of Allah *They who hoard up (yaknizūn) gold and silver and spend it not in the way of Allah...* (Sūrat al-Tawba 9:34-35).

<sup>114</sup> “I.e. dirhams. This figure is assessed relative to times, places, and persons.” Abū Ghudda, Ḥathth (p. 63n.).

b. Hubayra: from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—Allah be well-pleased with him: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses; whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure.”

**78.** Hārūn b. Ziyād reported to us: Ibn Abī ‘Umar narrated to us: Sufyān narrated to us: from Mis‘ar: from Abū Ḥaṣīn; from Ja‘da b. Hubayra: from ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—Allah be well-pleased with him: “Four thousand and less is for living expenses; whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure.”

**79.** Also related in this chapter is the saying of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”<sup>115</sup>

**80.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say [regarding the afore-mentioned hadith]: “Therefore let all servants of Allah fear Him and feed them pure and licit sustenance exclusively”—meaning dependants. I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “Someone said: ‘I will not earn a living until I make sure that I have the right intention.’” He replied: “Since it is obligatory for him to protect them, it follows that maintaining them is part and parcel of his [right] intention.”<sup>116</sup>

**81.** Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn reported to me that Islāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāni’ narrated to them: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh say when asked about the hadith of the Prophet—

<sup>115</sup> Ahmad (2:160); cf. Muslim (*Zakāt, fadl al-nafqa ‘alā al-‘iyāl*) with the wording: “for someone to withhold their food from his slaves.”

<sup>116</sup> I.e. there is no question that maintaining them is the right intention; moreover, supporting dependants is not in need of intention as to validity because it is a categorical obligation that does not permit delay.

upon him blessings and peace, “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish”: “A man has close relatives (*qarāba*) then he travels and leaves them. When he leaves them by themselves will they not perish if they have no other source of support besides him?” I said yes. He continued: “That is its meaning.”

**82.** Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn related to me that Isḥāq narrated to them that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about a man who left behind dependants and small boys, and he feared lest they fall into neglect. He already went on pilgrimage once and now he wants to travel to Kufa then go from it on pilgrimage [another time]. Abū ‘Abd Allāh said: “No, let him not go and neglect them! It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”<sup>117</sup>

**83.** Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān and Yūsuf b. Mūsā reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about the hadith, “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish” and he replied: “When he toils to support his dependants, how would he possibly let them perish?” He was asked: “And if he feeds them illicit sustenance, is he letting them perish?” He replied: “Absolutely!”<sup>118</sup>

**84.** Muḥammad [b. Ismā‘īl al-Āḥmasī] reported to us: Waki‘ narrated to us: from Isrā’īl: from Abū Isḥāq: from

<sup>117</sup> There are many examples of the *Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ* expressing disapproval of voluntary pilgrimages when funds could be used for other people in need or worthier causes, not to mention dependants.

<sup>118</sup> *Fa’im at ‘amahum ḥarāman, yakūnu ḏay’atan lahum? Qāla: Shadīdan!* This is a point of paramount importance for present-day agrarian Asian Muslim communities that thrive on the cultivation of illicit plants (such as opium and tobacco) on the pretext they are avenues out of poverty.

Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī: from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr [Allah be well-pleased with him and his father] who asked his superintendant (*qayyim*): “Did you allocate to my family their provisions for this month?” He said yes. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr continued: “I heard the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—say: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”

**85.** Muḥammad reported to us: Wakī‘ informed us: from al-A‘mash: from Abū Ishāq: from Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī: from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish.”

**86.** Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh reported to me: al-Qa‘nabī narrated to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz narrated to us: from Thawr, from Abū al-Ghayth: from Abū Hurayra: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “One who strives to support the widow and the needy is like one who struggles in the path of Allah (*kal-mujāhid fī sabīl Allāh*) and like one who rises to pray at night and fasts in the day.”<sup>119</sup>

**87.** Abū Umayya reported to us: Manṣūr b. Salama al-Khuza‘ī and Abū al-Jamāhir narrated to us, both saying: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad [al-Mājishūn] narrated to us: from Thawr: from Abū al-Ghayth: from Abū Hurayra: The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “One who strives to support the widow and the needy is like one who struggles in the path of Allah and like one who rises to pray at night and fasts in the day.”

<sup>119</sup> al-Bukhārī (*Nafaqāt*, beginning) and Muslim (*Zuhd, al-iḥsān ilā al-armala wal-mikīn wal-yatīm*).

**AND IN THIS CHAPTER IS THE DISLIKED STATUS OF  
EATING TOO LITTLE AND VENTURING INTO DESERTS  
WITHOUT PROVISIONS NOR FUNDS**

**88.** ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥubulī<sup>120</sup> reported to us: I heard ‘Uqbā b. Mukram ask Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “Those types (*hā’ulā’*) who eat very little (*ya’kulūn qalilan*) and from very few types of food (*yugallilūn min ṭa’āmihim*)?” He said: “I disapprove of it (*mā yu’jibuni*). I heard ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī say: “Certain people did this and it prevented them from performing their categorical obligations (*al-fard*).”<sup>121</sup>

**89.** Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān reported to us that a man said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “I would like to go out to Makkā; do you command me to do it?”<sup>122</sup> He replied: “If you can bear it; otherwise no, not without provision and mount. Do not take risks!”

**90.** Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥassān reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked about a person’s venturing into the desert without provision and he condemned it very strongly, saying: “*Uff, uff!* No, nooo!”—drawing out his voice—“except with provision, company, and a caravan!”

<sup>120</sup> After the Banū Ḥublā in Yemen cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Iubb al-Jubāb* (ed. P.J. Veth, Leiden: 1840, rept. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, n.d.) p. 75b; corrupted to “al-Ḥanbalī” in Abū Ghudda’s edition and “al-Jīlī” in Ḥaddād’s edition, who repeated the mistake found in the defective mss. and editions of Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Talbīs Iblīs* for the same report; but see its 2002 Riyadhl edition (3:1303 §312) and the mss. of the *Hathth* (Riyadh f°9a and Zāhiriyā 116 f°11a). al-Ḥubulī is unknown in the Ḥanbalī biographical dictionaries.

<sup>121</sup> This practice is established from al-Junayd, al-Tustarī, al-Nawawī, as well as those mentioned herein, but Allah gives success to whom He likes.

<sup>122</sup> I.e. with nothing.

**90a.** Abū Bakr al-Khallāl says: In Abū ‘Abd Allāh’s reply to the first question of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn, “If you can bear it; otherwise no,” [the upshot is that] if he can bear it and knows that he is strong enough to do that—so that he does not ask anyone [for help] and does not advertise himself (*lā yastashrifu nafsah*) as willing to take or be given anything or accept [a handout]—then he is as one who is relying [on Allah] on a truthful basis (*mutawakkil ‘alā al-ṣidq*). The scholars consider such reliance permissible as I will shortly show, and also in light of what Abū ‘Abd Allāh himself practised.

**91.** I heard Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī say: I heard Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—say: “I went on pilgrimage five times, two of them on foot. For some people 14 dirhams were enough to go [from Baghdad] to Makka.” I asked, “Who, O Abū ‘Abd Allāh?” He replied: “Myself.” Thus whoever is able to do that, then yes. But as for someone who takes risks and goes out without provision while not expecting himself to bear it: the scholars abominated it. Abū ‘Abd Allāh very forcefully condemned the proponents of reliance (*al-muttakilūn*) in such circumstances.

**92.** Ibrāhīm b. al-Khalīl reported to me that Aḥmad b. Naṣr—Abū Ḥāmid—narrated to them that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked by a man whether he should leave for Makka with complete reliance—without carrying anything with him—and he replied: “I disapprove of this! I never heard that any of the Companions of the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—or any of the Successors ever did this. He should work, search out [his sustenance], and scrutinise [his income].”

**92a.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī said on this question that a man from the disciples of Ibn Aslam came to Abū ‘Abd Allāh

and asked him: “What do you say about someone who wants to travel—which do you like best for him: to carry provisions with him or to rely [on Allah]?” Abu ‘Abd Allāh replied to him: “To carry provisions *and* rely [on Allah].”

**93.** Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Simsār reported to us: Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Muṣaysh narrated to them: a man from Khurāsān<sup>123</sup> asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh:

- Shall I go on pilgrimage without provision?
- No. Work, ply a trade, then go. The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—always equipped his Companions with provisions.
- Then those people who go on military raids and pilgrimage without provisions are wong?
- Yes, they are wrong.

**94.** Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jāmi‘ al-Rāzī reported to me: I heard Abū Mu‘īn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī say: I witnessed Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal being asked by a man from the people of Khurāsān:

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, I have one dirham and I feel (*urāhu*) I should go on pilgrimage with that dirham.
- Go to Bāb al-Karkh<sup>124</sup> and buy manna<sup>125</sup> with this dirham.

<sup>123</sup> A central Asian region regrouping the cities of Balkh, Bukhārā, Herat, Kabul, Merv, Naysābūr, Samarcand, Tirmidh, and Tūs.

<sup>124</sup> The gateway to the Karkh area which is the half of Baghdad that lies west of the Tigris. Ibn Jubayr in his *Rihla* described it as a walled city in its own right.

<sup>125</sup> *al-mann*. “Several species of manna have been identified botanically. These include an exudate of the European flowering ash (*Fraxinus ormus*) and a species of lichen of the genus *Lecanora*, still found on barren

Keep hauling it on top of your head until you have 300 dirhams. When you have 300 dirhams, go on pilgrimage.

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, do you not see the [corrupt] ways people are earning a living (*mā tarā makāsib al-nās*)?

- Look at this reprobate (*unzur ilā hādhā al-khabīth*)! He wants to demolish the livelihoods of people (*yurīdu an yufṣida ‘alā al-nāsī ma‘āyishahum*).

- Abū ‘Abd Allāh, I am someone who relies [on Allah alone] (*anā mutawakkil*)!

- So you enter the desert alone or with people?

- No, with people.

- Then you are lying! You are certainly not someone who relies on Allah. Go alone into the desert! Otherwise you are someone who relies on people's knapsacks (*jurub al-nās*).

**95.** Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣadaqa reported to me: Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Ṣabīl narrated to us: I told ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Mahdī: “Abū Sa‘īd, in our country there is a large group of those Sufis.” He said: “Do not go near them. We have seen many of them; some ended up mad and some ended up as heretics.<sup>126</sup> Sufyān al-Thawrī went on a trip once and I saw him off. He had with him a travel food-basket containing flour and honey pastries (*fālūdhaj*) and milk-fed baby lamb (*hamal*)!”

plains and mountains in many sections of Western Asia and North Africa.” *New Columbia Encyclopedia* (ed. William Harris and Judith S. Levey, New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1975) p. 1684.

<sup>126</sup> See introduction, “Imam Alīmad and Sufism” as well as (i) Abū Ghudda’s critique of this and the next two reports, *Hathth* (p. 73-74) and (ii) Shaykh Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf’s foreword to Abū Ghudda’s first edition of al-Muļāsībī’s *Risālat al-Mustarshidīn* (8th ed. Beirut, 1416/1995) p. 23-29. Ibn Ṣabīl is “a person of disclaimed reports” (*ṣāḥib manākīr*): al-Khaṭīb, *Tārikh* (6:373 §3400).

**96.** Tālib b. Qurra al-Adhanī reported to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Isā narrated to us: Ibn al-Mubārak said to us: “I never saw any reasonable person (*‘āqil*) among them”—meaning Sufis.<sup>127</sup>

**97.** Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī reported to us: ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ziyād al-Naṣībī<sup>128</sup> said to us:

We were with Mālik and I mentioned to him the Sufis of our regions. I said to him: “They wear the most luxurious Yemeni clothes and do this and that.” He said to me: “Woe to you! And these are Muslims?” I said yes. He burst into laughter until he had to lie on his back. One of those who were sitting with him said to me: “What is this? We never saw greater trouble (*fitna*) for this shaykh than you. We never saw him laugh before.”

**98.** Aḥmad b. Maṇṣūr reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq

<sup>127</sup> I.e. overzealous Sufis. A weak report: Tālib b. Qurra is unknown; thus spelled in ms. Zāhiriyā 118/6 and both editions of the *Hathth* but “Ibn Ḥurra” in Ibn Abi Ya‘lā, *Tabaqāt* (1:179) and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib* (p. 134); and “Ibn Ḥamza” in al-‘Ulaymī, *al-Manhaj al-Aḥmad* (ed. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arnā’ūt, 6 vols., Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, ) 2:113 and Ibn Muflīh, *al-Maqṣad al-Arshad* (ed. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Uthaymīn, 3 vols., Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 1410/1990) 1:459 §484. Adhanī=from Adhana, present-day Adana in Southern Turkey. As for Muḥammad b. ‘Isā he is not the arch-master Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Isā b. al-Ṭabbā‘ (d. 224/839) as claimed by al-Ḥaddād (*Hathth* p. 144) but rather Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ‘Isā b. Ziyād al-Dāmaghānī al-Rāzī who is merely “acceptable” (*maqbūl*) in hadith according to Ibn Ḥajar in his *Taqrib*.

<sup>128</sup> “Disclaimed in his narrations and untrustworthy” (*munkar al-hadīth, ghayr thiqa*) according to al-Azdī as cited by Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Du‘afā wal-Matrūkin* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qādī, 3 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1406/1986) 1:149.

narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from ‘Abd al-Malik [b. Abjar]: from al-Sha‘bī: regarding the saying of Allah Most High *and take along provision* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197). He said: “That is hollow biscuit (*ka‘k*) and dates.”<sup>129</sup>

**99.** Alḥmad narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from Muḥammad b. Sūqa: from ‘Ikrima;

**99a.** Alḥmad also narrated to us: Abū Nu‘aym narrated to us: from al-Thawrī: from Muḥammad b. Sūqa: from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr regarding the saying of Allah Most High *and take along provision*. They both said it means hollow buiscuit and *sawīq* gruel.<sup>130</sup>

**100.** Alḥmad reported to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: ‘Umar b. Dharr narrated to us: I heard Mujāhid say: “They used to go on pilgrimage without taking along provisions, so a dispensation was given to them concerning provisions and the verse was revealed: *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197).”

**101.** Alḥmad narrated to us: ‘Abd al-Razzāq narrated to us: Ibn ‘Uyayna narrated to us: from ‘Amr b. Dīnār: from ‘Ikrima: “They used to go on pilgrimage devoid of any provisions, whereupon they were commanded to take provisions.” He added: “The best provision is Godwariness.”

<sup>129</sup> Because they do not spoil, which is the gist of the verse.

<sup>130</sup> *Sawīq* is a decoction of wheat or barley boiled with ghee or fat and sweetened, thus called because it goes down smoothly (*yansāq*). It is either sipped or dried up into cakes and eaten.

**102.** al-Ḥusayn<sup>131</sup> b. Aḥmad al-Kirmānī reported to us: Abū Bakr<sup>132</sup> narrated to us: Suwayd b. ‘Amr al-Kinānī narrated to us: from Abū ‘Awāna: from Mughīra: from Ibrāhīm: *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness.* He said: “Some of the Arabs, when they went on pilgrimage and reached a mountain-road, would forego provisions. They would say: ‘We trust.’ So they were commanded to take along provisions.”

**103.** al-Ḥusayn reported to us: Abū Bakr narrated to us: Shabāba narrated to us: Warqā’ narrated to us: from ‘Amr b. Dīnār: from ‘Ikrima: from Ibn ‘Abbās—[Allah be well-pleased with him and his father]: “The people of Yemen used to go on pilgrimage without taking along any provisions and they would say: ‘We trust’ (*nahnu mutawakkilūn*). Then they would go on pilgrimage, reach Makkā, and ask people for handouts, whereupon Allah Most High revealed *And take along provision; and truly the best provision is Godwariness* (Sūrat al-Baqara 2:197).

**104.** ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam reported to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Abbās al-Bāhilī narrated to us: Abū ‘Āsim narrated to us: from ‘Isā: from Ibn Abī Najīḥ: from Mujāhid regarding the saying of Allah Most High, *And take along provision:* “Pilgrims would travel from the four corners and support their passage (*yatawaṣṣalūn*) by means of others without taking provisions with them-

<sup>131</sup> As shown in mss. Riyadhl University Majmū‘ 1928, folio 10b and Berlin 1807, cf. al-Ḥaddād (*Hathth* p. 147), while ms. Zāhiriyā 118/6 has “al-Ḥasan” cf. Abū Ghudda (*Hathth* p. 77) which is an error in light of the next chain.

<sup>132</sup> I.e. Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/850), “master of hadith masters” (al-Dhahabī) and author of the *Muṣannaf*.

selves, so they were commanded to do so.

**105.** Ah̄mad b. Yahyā b. ‘Aṭā’ b. Muslim al-Harrānī al-Bāhilī narrated to us: al-Mughīra b. Siqlāb<sup>133</sup> narrated to us: ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād<sup>134</sup> narrated to us: from Nāfi‘: from Ibn ‘Umar [Allah be well-pleased with him and his father]:

The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—sent out troops among whom was a man named Ḥudayr. They had suffered a famine that year so the Messenger of Allah supplied them with provisions, but he forgot to supply Ḥudayr. The latter went out patiently and anticipating reward in the hereafter for his self-sacrifice (*muhtasiban*). He rode at the end of the convoy, saying:

*lā ilāha illā Allāh, Allāhu akbar, al-hamdu lillāh,  
subḥān Allāh, lā ḥawla wa-la quwwata illā billāh,  
ni‘ma al-zād huwa ya Rabb!*

(“There is no god but Allah, Allah is Greatest,

<sup>133</sup> Sometimes misspelled Ṣiqlāb with a ṣād. Ibn ‘Adī declared him “disclaimed in his narrations” (*munkar al-hadīth*) and ‘Alī b. Maymūn al-Raqī said: “He counts less than a dropping” (*lā yusawwī ba‘ra*), but Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī said: “His hadith is viable” (*ṣalīḥ al-hadīth*) and Abū Zur‘a said: “He is safe” (*lā ba’sa bih*). “And this takes precedence over the verdicts of Ibn ‘Adī and al-Raqī due to the greater prestige of Abū Ḥātim and Abū Zur‘a”: Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *al-Badr al-Munīr* (ed. Muṣṭafā Abū al-Ghayṭ ‘Abd al-Ḥayy et al., 10 vols., Riyadḥ: Dār al-Hijra, 1425/ 2004) 1:415-416.

<sup>134</sup> A narrator used in all four *Sunan* compilations. Ah̄mad said his hadith was viable, Abū Ḥātim considered him truthful (*sadūq*), Yahyā b. Ma‘īn said “trustworthy” (*thiqā*), and Ibn al-Mubārak: “Among the most worshipful of people.” See Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Jarh* and al-Dhahabī, *Kāshīf* (1:655 §3387) and *Mizān* where he dismisses Ibn Ḥibbān’s critique of Ibn Abī Rawwād as a lesson in excess.

glory and thanks to Allah, Allah be glorified,  
there is no change or might except with Allah  
—what wonderful provision all this is, O Lord!”)

He kept repeating it at the end of the convoy. Jibril came to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and said: “Truly my Lord has sent me to you to tell you that you have supplied your Companions, but you forgot to supply Ḥudayr. He is at the tail-end of the convoy saying:

*lā ilāha illā Allāh, wAllāhu akbar, [wal-ḥamdu lillāh], wa-subḥān Allāh, wa-lā ḥawla wa-la quwwata illā billāh, and he is saying: ni‘ma al-zād huwa ya Rabb!*

“Those words of his are a light for him on the Day of Resurrection, filling everything between heaven and earth. So send him his provision.”

The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—summoned a man,<sup>135</sup> handed him Ḥudayr’s provision and ordered him to reach him and remember whatever he heard him say both before and after he gave him his provision. He told him to say to him: “The Messenger of Allah sends you salam and the mercy of Allah, and he informs you that he had forgotten to supply you but that ‘my Lord Most Blessed and Most High sent me Jibril to remind me of you,’ so Jibril reminded him and told him about your high rank.”<sup>136</sup>

<sup>135</sup> Perhaps Ibn ‘Umar himself.

<sup>136</sup> The discourse switches from oblique to direct and back again, as frequently takes place in the style of the Qur’ān and Sunna.

The man went and reached Ḥudayr as he was saying:

*lā ilāha illā Allāh, wAllāhu akbar, wa-subḥān Allāh,  
wal-ḥamdu lillāh, wa-lā hawla wa-la quwwata illā  
billāh, adding: ni‘ma al-zād hādhā ya Rabb!*

The man approached him and said: “Truly the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace — sends you salam and the mercy of Allah. He sent me to you to give you the provision I have here, and he says: ‘Truly I had simply forgotten you (*innī innamā nasītuk*), so Jibrīl was sent to me from heaven to remind me of you.’”

Hudayr praised and thanked Allah, glorified him, and invoked blessings on the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace. Then he said: “Glory, praise and thanks to Allah the Lord of the worlds! My Lord remembered me from above seven heavens and from above His Throne! He showed mercy toward my hunger and weakness. O my Lord! Just as You did not forget Ḥudayr, let Ḥudayr never forget You.”

The man memorised what Ḥudayr said and returned to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—recounting to him what he had heard him say when he first reached him and after he had spoken to him. The Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “Lo! Truly, if you had raised your head to the sky you would have seen those words of his as a blazing light covering everything between heaven and earth.”<sup>137</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Ibn Mandah, *Mu‘jam al-Ṣaḥāba* (ed. ‘Āmir Ḥasan Ṣabrī, 2 vols.,

## THE PROOF AGAINST THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT THEY RELY [ON ALLAH] AND THEN QUIT WORK

**106.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh:

- Those people who claim reliance and neither trade nor work are saying that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—validated a marriage on the basis of a sura of the Qur’ān [for dowry]:<sup>138</sup> did he [the bridegroom] have any worldly possessions?
- How can they know he was not working?
- They say “We sit, and our means of sustenance (*arzāqunā*) are the responsibility of Allah Almighty.”
- This is a foul and depraved statement! Allah Most Blessed and Most High says: *When the call to prayer is raised on the day of congregation, hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:9). What is that except buying and selling?

**107.** ‘Abd al-Şamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith al-Ḥimṣī narrated to us: Yaḥyā b. Ṣalih narrated to us: Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-Makhzūmī narrated to us: ‘Abd Allāh b. Busr al-Māzinī narrated to us that whenever he had finished praying Jumu‘a he would always go into the marketplace according

al-‘Ayn: UAE University, 1426/2005) 1:436-437 §248; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ma‘rifat al-Ṣaḥāba* (ed. ‘Ādil b. Yūsuf al-‘Azāzī, 7 vols, Riyadh: Dār al-Waṭan lil-Nashr, 1419/1998) 2:893-894 §2309; and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa* and *Muntazam*, sub “Ḥudayr.”

<sup>138</sup> I.e. the hadith from Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī in the Nine Books whereby the Prophet said to one of the *Anṣār* who was so poor all he owned was the waistwrap he wore: “I have married you to this woman on the basis of whatever you have [memorised] of the Qur’ān,” which was several short suras.

to his understanding of this verse: *And when the prayer is ended then disperse in the land and seek of the bounty of Allah* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:10).

**108.** al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “A group of people were in Makka in a mosque and a man came to them and said: ‘Come take this meat.’ They said: ‘No, first you go and grill it then you can bring it.’” He [Ahmad] said: “Right then he has ordered him to work! Moreover, when he says ‘I will not work’ but then he is brought something that was produced and earned by other people—why does he accept it?” I said: “He claims it is his [God-given] sustenance (*yaqūl hādhā rizqī*).” Ahmad said: “Still, he is accepting it from someone who works. ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib—upon him peace—used to work until his hand was callused<sup>139</sup> and the Companions of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—all used to work.”

**109.** ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad reported to us:

I asked my father about certain people who say: “We trust in Allah and do not earn a living (*lā naktaṣib*).” He said: “All people without exception have to trust in Allah but they benefit themselves by earning a living. Allah Most High said: *hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumu‘a 62:9). It is well understood from that that they earn and work! and the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace — said ‘Whoever supports and raises two or three daughters will have Paradise!’”<sup>140</sup> He meant that anyone

<sup>139</sup> *Hattā tadbara yaduh*, misspelled *tadhabra* by Ḥaddād (*Hathth* p. 154).

<sup>140</sup> Ahmad (3:147-148), cf. Muslim (*al-Birr wal-ṣila, fadl al-iḥsān ilā al-banāt*) and al-Tirmidhī (*al-Birr wal-ṣila, al-nafaqāt ‘alā al-banāt*).

who says otherwise is an imbecile.<sup>141</sup> I also heard my father—Allah have mercy on him—say: “Autonomy from people through own’s own quest (*talab*)—meaning work—is much dearer to us than sitting and waiting for what people have to come to us.”

**110.** Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Kahlāl reported to me that Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—said: “It is related from the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—that he said: ‘Whoever has three children who die before the age of liability (*lam yablughū al-ḥinth*) will not be touched by the Fire other than the fulfillment of the Oath [Sūrat Maryam 19:71].’”<sup>142</sup> I asked: “Liability is puberty (*al-hulum*)? He said yes.

**111.** Muḥammad b. ‘Alī [al-Simsār] reported to me: Ṣāliḥ narrated to us that he asked his father—Allah have mercy on him—about reliance and he replied: “Reliance is fine (*al-tawakkul ḥasan*) but a man must not be dependent on others. He must work and make himself and his family independent. He must not quit work.” Ṣāliḥ said: “My father was also asked, while I witnessed, about a group of people that do not work and say, ‘We are relying [on Allah].’ He said: ‘These are innovators (*mubtadi‘a*).’”

**112.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that he said to Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy on him—that Ibn ‘Uyayna would say they were innovators, whereupon Abū

<sup>141</sup> I.e. to dismiss the Divine order of things and forego the means of obtaining the reward of Paradise by saying “we rely on Allah” is a foolish proposition.

<sup>142</sup> *There is not one of you but shall come to it—an inevitable decree of your Lord.*

‘Abd Allāh said: “Those are wicked people, they want the paralysis and ruin of the world! (*yurīdūn ta‘til al-dunyā*).”

**113.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us: I heard Muthannā al-Anbārī say: I heard Bishr b. al-Hārith say: “When a man has something he considers good and pure let him use it as his food and steer clear of those filthy things (*hādhīh al-aqdhār*).”<sup>143</sup>

**114.** ‘Abd Allāh b. Alīmad b. Ḥanbal reported to us: I said to my father: “Do you consider it preferable that a man [just] earn his daily sustenance?” He replied: “If he earns more, he can spend it on his close family, or his house, or a guest. That is dearer to me than for him not to earn a living; and it is dearer to me than for him to try to practise abstinence (*yasta‘iff*).”<sup>144</sup>

**115.** Muḥammad b. Ja‘far reported to us: Abū al-Hārith narrated to them: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh: “A man quits work and sits. He says: ‘I only know of oppressors or usurpers (*mā a‘rif illā zāliman aw ghāṣibān*); therefore I will take what is in their hands but will not assist them or strengthen them in their injustice.” He said:

<sup>143</sup> I.e. let him strive not to be a recipient of *zakāt* and of the charities (*sadaqāt*) of people as implied in the hadith: “Truly these alms are nothing other than the ordure of people” (*inna hādhīh al-sadaqāt innamā hiya awṣākh al-nās*). Muslim (*Zakāt, tark isti‘māl Āl al-Nabī ‘alā al-sadaqa*); al-Nasā’ī (*Zakāt, isti‘māl Āl al-Nabī ‘alā al-sadaqa*); Abū Dāwūd (*al-Kharāj wal-say’ wal-imāra, bayān mawādi‘ qism al-khumus wa-sahm dhil-qurbā*).

<sup>144</sup> As evinced by the famous advice of Salmān to Abū Dharr “Truly your soul has rights over you, your Lord has a right over you, your guest has a right over you,” etc. which the Prophet (upon him blessings and peace) approved. al-Bukhārī (*Tahajjud, man nāma awwala al-layl wa-ahyā ākhirah*); al-Tirmidhī (*Zuhd*).

No one must quit work and sit in wait for what is in the hands of people [to come to him]. My choice is work, and work is dearer to me. When a man sits without plying a trade, his ego justifies for him taking what is in the hands of people. So when they give him something [he takes it]; but if they refuse him, he busies himself with work. Earning a living means abandoning expectations (*al-iktisāb tark al-ṭama'*). The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then sells in the market to be self-sufficient is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”<sup>145</sup> So the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—has informed us that work is superior to begging (*al-mas'ala*); and Allah Most High said: *hasten to the remembrance of Allah and leave trading* (Sūrat al-Jumu'a 62:9). This saying of His implies permission in buying and selling (*fa-qawluhu hādhā idhnun fil-shirā' wal-bay'*). My choice is that a man must take the trouble of making a living (*wa-anā akhtār lil-rajul al-id̄tirāb fi ṭalab al-rizq*) and not be in need of what others possess. That is better in my view.

I [Abū al-Hārith] said: “There are right here [in Baghdad] a group of people that say: ‘We rely on Allah and we do not consider it valid to work except with other than oppressors or judges (*al-ẓalama wal-quḍāt*); and in actuality I only know of oppressors.’” Abū ‘Abd Allāh said:

What a fine thing reliance on Allah Almighty is! However, one must not sit idle and do nothing, waiting for this one or that one to come and feed him. We

<sup>145</sup> See next entry on this hadith.

choose work! We seek after our sustenance! We do without begging! Independence from people through work is dearer to me than begging.

**116.** [Abū al-Ḥārith also said:] Alḥmad<sup>146</sup> narrated to us: Ḥafṣ b. Ghiyāth narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from al-Zubayr: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then comes and unloads in the marketplace then sells, by which he obtains sufficiency which he then spends on himself—that is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”<sup>147</sup>

**117.** Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from al-Zubayr: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For a man to get a rope and bundle up firewood which he then comes and unloads in the marketplace then sells, by which he obtains sufficiency and is able to spend on himself—that is better for him than to ask people, whether they give him or refuse him.”

<sup>146</sup> I.e. Ibn Ḥanbal. This Abū al-Ḥārith is Alḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-Ḥārith al-Ṣā’igh cf. Ibn Abī Ya‘la, *Tabaqāt* (1:74-75).

<sup>147</sup> Alḥmad (1:164). Also narrated from Abū Hurayra by al-Bukhārī (*Buyū‘, kasb al-rajul wa-‘amaluh bi-yadih*) and Muslim (*Zakāt, karāhat al-mas’ala lil-nās*). “In this hadith there is a Prophetic directive that to obtain sustenance, even small and even through difficulty, is preferable for a person than to ask people and thereby humiliate himself. Moreover this directive is tantamount to a religious obligation, as the one who is physically fit to earn a lawful living in any way whatsoever is not permitted to ask people for a handout, whether they give him or refuse him.” Abū Ghudda, *Hathth* (p. 91 n.).

**118.** Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl reported to us: Wakī‘ narrated to us: from Hishām b. ‘Urwa: from his father: from his grandfather [al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām]: the Messenger of Allah—upon him blessings and peace—said: “For one of you to pick up his rope, go to a mountain, and bring back a bundle of wood on his back which he then sells, thereby obtaining sufficiency with its price, is better for him than to ask people for a handout, whether they give him or refuse him.”

**119.** Yaḥyā b. Ja‘far reported to us: ‘Abd al-Wahhāb narrated to us: al-Akhḍar b. ‘Ajlān narrated to us: Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī<sup>148</sup> narrated to me: from Anas b. Mālik: A man came to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and said: “Messenger of Allah, I have come to you from a household [so poor that] by the time I return I think one of them will have died!” The Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said to him: “Go and see if you can find something [to sell].” He went and returned with a cloth (*hils*) and a drinking bowl (*qadāh*), saying: “Messenger of Allah, they used this cloth partly as a blanket and partly as a garment; and this bowl they drank from.” The Prophet said: “Who will buy them from me for a dirham?” A man said: “I will, Messenger of Allah.” The Prophet said: “Who will pay more?” Another said: “I will take them for two dirhams.” The Prophet said: “They are yours.” Then he called the first man and said: “Buy an ax (*fa’s*) for a dirham and with the other dirham buy food for your family.” He did so then came back. The Prophet said to him: “Go to that valley and do not leave in it any thistle or thorn or firewood! And

<sup>148</sup> Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh from the tribe of Abū Ḥanifa, al-Tirmidhī considered him fair in his narration of this report, cf. al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1: 610 §3071).

do not come back to me for fifteen days.” The man went and made a profit of ten dirhams. Then he came back to the Prophet and told him. The Prophet said: “Go and buy food for five dirhams, and with the other five buy clothes for your family.” The man said: “Messenger of Allah, Allah has given me much blessing in what you ordered me to do!” The Prophet said: “This is much better for you than to come on the Day of Resurrection with a blot on your face caused by begging. Begging is unlawful (*al-mas’ala lā tahill*) except in three cases: (i) for someone who owes an onerous blood-price (*li-dhī damin mūjī‘*); (ii) for one who suffered a disastrous misfortune (*ghurmin mufzī‘*); and (iii) for someone in desperate poverty (*faqrin mudqī‘*).<sup>149</sup>

### **GENERAL CHAPTER ON RELIANCE (*tawakkul*) FOR THOSE WHO PRACTISE IT TRUTHFULLY**

**120.** Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī reported to us that Abū ‘Abd Allāh was asked: “What is truthfulness in reliance on Allah Almighty?” (*ayyu shay’in ḥidq al-tawakkul ‘alā Allāh?*). He replied: “[It is] for someone to rely on Allah without there being any human being from whom he expects anything to come to him. When such is the case, then Allah will sustain him and he is relying on Him.”

**121.** Abū Bakr narrated to us on another occasion: “I mentioned reliance to Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah have mercy

<sup>149</sup> Abū Dāwūd (*Zakāt, mā tajūz fih al-mas’ala*); al-Tirmidhī (*al-Talāq wal-hi‘ān, bay‘ man yazid*); Ibn Mājah (*Tijārāt, bay‘ al-muzāyada*). Also—in part—Al-Ḥmad (3:114, 3:126-127). Both Abū Ghudda (p. 94-96) and al-Ḥaddād (p. 164-176!) here have extremely profuse marginalia yet fail to provide the above documentation.

on him—and he declared it permissible for whoever practises it truthfully.”<sup>150</sup>

**122.** Abū Bakr also reported to us: I asked Abū ‘Abd Allāh about a man who sits in his house and says: “I will sit patiently in this house and I will not reveal my situation to anyone,” although he considers himself able to ply a trade. He replied:

- If he were to go out and ply a trade it would be dearer to me. When he just sits [at home] I fear lest his sitting lead him to something else.
- Such as what?
- He will start expecting (*yatawaqqa'*) something to be sent to him.
- Even when something is sent to him he does not take it.
- Good!

**122a.** [al-Marrūdhī continued:] I told Abū ‘Abd Allāh about a certain man in Makka who said: “I swear I will not eat anything until they feed me.”<sup>151</sup> Then he withdrew to Mount Abū Qubays. After that two men came to him as he wore a rag around his waist and they threw in a shirt for him but he did not wear it. They grabbed his hands and put the shirt on him. Then food was placed in front of him but he did not eat until a tongue blade was placed in his

<sup>150</sup> Reliance is obligatory on all but what is meant here is *tawakkul* in its utmost form and extreme mode practised by the ascetics al-Khallāl cites.

<sup>151</sup> Var. “until my Lord feeds me.” In Ibn Rajab, *Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm wal-Hikam* (sub Hadith 49: “If you relied on Allah in the true sense of reliance, He would sustain you the way He sustains the birds, they leave their nests famished in the early morning and they return at night with their bellies full”).

mouth and they force-fed him. Abū ‘Abd Allāh laughed and wondered.

**122b.** I told Abū ‘Abd Allāh of a man who quit buying and selling and swore to himself that no gold or silver would ever fall into his hand again. He left his big house (*dūrah*) without giving any instructions regarding it. He would go on the road and if he saw anything discarded he would take it from the trash.<sup>152</sup> I [al-Marrūdhī] said to that man: “What is your proof for this? I do not think you have any proof for it other than Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad.” The man said: “Yes, I do: Uways al-Qarānī! He would pass by garbage heaps (*mazābil*) and collect rags.” He [Alḥmad] confirmed his words and said: “He is too strict on himself!” (*qad shaddada ‘alā nafsih*). Then he said: “Two poor souls once came to me (*qad jā’ani nafsān*) asking me something very similar to this. One of them said he goes on the road and finds something like vegetables and such. I told them: ‘Why not find work? Do you want to be notorious?’ (*law ta‘arraqtum li-‘amalin? tashharūna anfusakum?*). They replied: ‘And what do we care about notoriety?’ (*wa-aysh nubālī min al-shuhra?*).”<sup>153</sup>

<sup>152</sup> This passage prompted a censorious 12-line outburst from Shaykh ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghudda—Allah have mercy on him—but see §26 and biographical entries on Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ and Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad on *liqāt*, a widespread method of spiritual training of masters past and present. We heard from our teacher Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani: “The *Awliyā* say: We take the bitter grapes and leave the sweet ones to guests.” One of the late masters of Damascus, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shāghūrī would choose the spoiled apples of the marketplace for himself and leave the good ones for others.

<sup>153</sup> *Shuhra* is feared as scandalous exposure (*fadjha*, cf. *Lisān al-‘Arab*, *sub sh-h-r*), cf. §28. Abū Ghudda misunderstands the syntax of this passage and punctuates it as if it meant “Why not find work so that you make yourselves famous?” Then he loses patience: “The clauses here are

**123.** Muḥammad b. Alīmad b. Manṣūr reported to me: al-Māzinī asked Bishr b. al-Ḥārith about reliance (*tawakkul*) and he replied: “The reliant one (*mutawakkil*) does not rely on Allah so that he will be given sufficiency (*li-yukṣā*); if this silver<sup>154</sup> came into the hearts of the reliant ones they would holler with remorse and repentence to Allah! Rather, sufficiency comes into the heart of the reliant one from Allah Almighty, so that he confirms (*yuṣaddiq*) Allah Almighty in all that He guarantees.”

**124.** al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb reported to me: Ismā‘īl [b. Yūsuf al-Daylāmī] narrated to them: Shurayḥ [b. Maslāma] narrated to us: from Abū Sufyān:<sup>155</sup> from Sufyān [al-Thawrī]: from Abū Sinān [Dirār b. Murra]: from Sa‘īd b. Jubayr: “Reliance is the nexus of belief” (*al-tawakkul jīmā‘ al-īmān*).

**125.** al-Ḥasan b. Ismā‘īl reported to me that he narrated to them from Ṣāliḥ b. Hātim: al-Mu‘tamir narrated to us: I heard ‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Aṭīyya narrate from al-Ḥasan: “Truly the servant’s reliance on his Lord is to know that Allah alone is his trust” (*an ya‘lāma anna Allāh huwa thiqatuh*).

laconic and confused, there is deviancy in their subject-matter, and they are not worth any clarification!” (*Hathth*, p. 100n). Imam Alīmad himself narrated from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—Allah be well-pleased with him—that he once stopped by a garbage-heap and stayed there until those who were with him seemed bothered and disgusted. Then he said: “Such is your world for which you care so much or rely upon (*hādhīhi dunyākum al-lati tāhriṣūn ‘alayhā aw tattakilūn ‘alayhā*)” in Alīmad, *Zuhd* (p. 147) and Abū Nu‘aym (1:48).

<sup>154</sup> *Fidda*. I.e. money or concern about money.

<sup>155</sup> I.e. Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥārith b. Manṣūr al-Wāsiṭī al-Zāhid: see the *Tahdhībs* of al-Mizzī and Ibn Ḥajar, s.v. Abū Ghudda and al-Haddād fail to identify Abū Sufyān and al-Haddād mistakes Sufyān for Ibn ‘Uyayna.

**126.** Ḥarb b. Ismā‘il al-Kirmānī reported to me: ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Sallām narrated to me: Ḥusayn b. Ziyād al-Marrūdhī narrated to us: I heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna say: “The nexus of belief is reliance on Allah and the explanation of that reliance is that he be content with whatever He does with him.”

**127.** al-Dūrī reported to us: Yaḥyā narrated to us: ‘Alī b. Thābit narrated to me: al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān narrated to us: I heard al-Sha‘bī say: “Truly Allah has devotees (*‘ubbād*) beyond Andalusia by a distance like our own from Andalusia, who are unaware that any creature ever disobeyed Allah. The proceeds of their land (*kharājuhum*) are pearl and coral; their mountains are gold and silver; they do not till the soil nor do they plant it; and they do no work. They have fruit-bearing trees right by their doors that feed them, and trees with large leaves that serve as their garments.”<sup>156</sup>

**128.** Abū Bakr b. Ṣadaqa reported to us: ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Uṭrūshī narrated to us: Abū Bakr al-Raddād narrated to me that he heard Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb say: A man asked Uways al-Qarānī: “From where will livelihood come?” Uways said: “Tell him: Truly we declare and do swear that those hearts, when they start doubting, no admonishment will benefit them!”

<sup>156</sup> Ibn Ma‘īn, *Tārīkh Ibn Ma‘īn* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh Alḥmad Ḥasan, 2 vols. Beirut: Dār al-Qalam, n.d.) 1:316 §2117. I.e. only those who live in such paradisiacal conditions are excused from work.

THE BOOK HAS ENDED. ALL PRAISE AND  
THANKS BELONG TO ALLAH ALONE.  
BLESSINGS AND PEACE ON OUR  
LIEGELORD MUHAMMAD,  
HIS FAMILY, AND HIS  
COMPANIONS.



## Selected Biographical Glossary

of persons cited by al-Khallāl

**‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad** b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal (213-290/828-903): Imam Aḥmad’s second son and al-Khallāl’s teacher. He finalised and transmitted his father’s *Musnad* and the latter praised his knowledge of hadith. He narrated that Imam Aḥmad said:

When al-Shāfi‘ī came to us [in Baghdad] I took Ishāq b. Rāhūyah by the hand and we went to al-Za‘farānī and told him: “This man has come and we need to hear from him these books. You are more articulate (*aʃah*) than us, so you can read them for us before him. So he read them, and the transmission was, for al-Za‘farānī, of the *qirā’atan* type and, for us, of the ‘*ardan* type.<sup>157</sup>

On his deathbed ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad asked to be buried in Bāb al-Tibn at the Qaṭī‘at Umm Ja‘far area of Baghdad instead of his father’s gravesite, saying: “I have authentic proof that there is a Prophet buried in al-Qaṭī‘a and I prefer to be near a Prophet than near my father.”<sup>158</sup> A full half of the *Kitāb al-Sunna* published today under his name consists of forgeries.

**Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī**: Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Marwazī or Marwadī or Marrūdhī (d. 275/888). A trustworthy hadith master hailing from Merv, he was the closest companion of Imam Aḥmad whom he

<sup>157</sup> Al-Bayhaqī, *Maṇāqib al-Shāfi‘ī* (ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Şaqr, 2 vols., Cairo: Dār al-Turāth, 1390/1970) 1:226.

<sup>158</sup> Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān* (5 vols. Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1397/1977) 1:306.

helped wash and lay to rest, and al-Khallāl's principal teacher. He was celebrated for his piety and wrote a book on the linguistic difficulties of hadith among other works. He narrated in his *Mansak* that Imam Aḥmad preferred for one to make *tawassul* through the Prophet in every single supplication with the wording:

O Allah! I am turning to You with Your Prophet, the Prophet of mercy. O Muḥammad! I am turning with you to my Lord for the fulfillment of my need.

The report is mentioned in the books of the Ḥanbalī school as part of the *fiqh* of *du‘ā* in the rain prayer (*istisqā*).<sup>159</sup> Among al-Marrūdhi's junior students was Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Khalaf al-Barbahārī (d. 329/941).<sup>160</sup>

**Abū Ishāq:** ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī (33–127/654–745), a major *Tābi‘ī* who narrated from Jarīr, ‘Adī b. Ḥātim, Zayd b. Arqam, Ibn ‘Abbās and many other Companions. From him narrated his son Yūnus, his grandson Isrā’il, Shu‘ba, the two Sufyāns, Abū Bakr b. ‘Iyāsh, and others. He spent his life narrating hadith, fasting in the day and praying at night, and performing jihad.<sup>161</sup>

**Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad** Mawlā Banī Umayya: His name was Yamān but he is known by his *kunya*. “One of the

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Ibn Muflīh, *Furu‘* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muṣin al-Tūrkī, 12 vols., Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1424/2003) 3:229 *Istisqā*; al-Mardāwī, *Inṣāf* (ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī, 12 vols., Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sunnat al-Muḥammadiyya, 1374/1955) 2:456; al-Buhūtī, *Kashshāf* (ed. Wizārat al-‘Adl, KSA, 15 vols., Riyadh, 1421/2000) 3:443; Ibn Qudāma, *Waṣīyya* (p. 93).

<sup>160</sup> Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (1:56).

<sup>161</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:82 §4185).

major *Awliyā'* Allāh, he was considered to be among the Substitute-Saints (*min al-Abdāl*)” (al-Dhahabī), a companion of Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham and Sufyān (whom he preferred) who lived outside Damascus. Among those who narrated from him: Aḥmad b. Abī al-Ḥawārī al-Dimashqī, ‘Amr b. Aslam al-Ṭarasūsī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Affān, Qāsim b. ‘Uthmān al-‘Abdī al-Jū‘ī and others. A visitor asked him why he kept a *muṣṭafā* in his room although he was blind. Abū Mu‘āwiya said: “Can you keep this secret until my death?” The man said yes. Abū Mu‘āwiya said: “Truly whenever I want to read my eyesight is opened for me.”<sup>162</sup> When a group of visitors asked him for his *du‘ā* he said: “O Allah, grant me mercy through them and do not deprive them because of me.”<sup>163</sup> Among his sayings: “Allah is more generous than to lavish His bounty except He completes it,”<sup>164</sup> or to have someone use it in a good deed except He accepts it.”<sup>165</sup> Yāḥyā b. Ma‘īn would narrate the following and weep:

I saw Abū Mu‘āwiya collect rags from garbage-heaps (*al-mazābil*), wash them and wear them, as well as carrot-stumps and other discarded food which he would gather, cook and eat. He was told: “Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad! You can be given better than these to wear.” He would say: “Nothing of what afflicts them in this world really harms them; Allah will compensate for them every loss with Paradise.”<sup>166</sup>

<sup>162</sup> al-Lālakā’ī, *Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* (= vol. 5 of his *Sharḥ Uṣūl I‘tiqād Ahl al-Sunna*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ghāmidī, 5 vols., 2nd ed., Riyadh: Dār Ṭāyba, 1415/1994) 5:272-273 §213.

<sup>163</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (9:79).

<sup>164</sup> I.e. to take us back in a state of belief in Him after He lavished belief upon us.

<sup>165</sup> Ibn Abī al-Dunyā, *al-Shukr lillāh* (ed. Muḥammad Basyūnī Zaghlūl, Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyya, 1413/1993) p. 58 §141.

<sup>166</sup> Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārīkh* (67:242-243).

**Abū Wā’il:** Shaqīq b. Salama al-Asadī (7BH-82/615-701), a “Successor (*tābi‘ī*) born in Jāhiliyya” (*mukhadram*) who narrated from ‘Umar and Mu‘ādh b. Jabal—Allah be well-pleased with them. From him narrated Manṣūr b. Salama and al-A‘mash. “One of the scholars who practised their knowledge” (al-Dhahabī).<sup>167</sup>

**Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī:** Ya‘qūb b. al-Mughīra (d. 240/854), one of the great ascetics famous for never eating anything unless absolutely certain of its licitness. He lived a life of jihad on the Syrian-Byzantine frontier of Tarasūs and died there. He was praised by his companions al-Sarī al-Saqatī and Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham as well as by Alīmad b. Ḥanbal as an exemplar of scrupulous Godwariness (*wara‘*). He narrated from Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna and from him narrated Abū ‘Imrān al-Tarasūsī. To those who saw him one time refrain from eating and asked him: “Do you doubt it is lawful?” he replied: “I do not doubt it is lawful; but doing-without is only in lawful things” (*innamā al-zuhd fil-halāl*).<sup>168</sup>

**Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal,** Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Dhuhlī al-Shaybānī al-Marrūdhī al-Baghdādī (164-241/780-855):<sup>169</sup> the pious, ascetic, foremost jurist and hadith

<sup>167</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:489 §2303).

<sup>168</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Safwa* and Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-Talab fī Tārikh Halab* (ed. Suhayl Zakkār, 12 vols., Damascus: Suhayl Zakkār, 1988-1989) 10:4659-4660, both *sub Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī*. Ibn Ad’ham called this the *zuhd* of merit (*zuhd al-faḍl*) as opposed to the obligatory (avoiding *ḥarām*) and the cautionary (abstaining when in doubt): Ibn al-‘rābī, *al-Zuhd* (ed. Khadīja Kāmil, Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, 1998) p. 58. The upshot is that it is the highest and best, cf. p. 76.

<sup>169</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, chapter on Imam Alīmad; Ibn al-Subkī, *Tabaqāt al-Šāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā* (2:46-47); and Ṣalīḥ b. Alīmad, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad* (ed. Muḥammad al-Zughlī, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1997) p. 32-47.

master, “the true Shaykh of Islam and leader of the Muslims in his time, the hadith master and proof of the Religion” (*al-Dhahabī*) by whom “Allah reinforced this Religion at the time of the Ordeal (*al-miḥna*) as He had reinforced it with Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq on the day of the Great Apostasy (*al-Ridda*)” (*Ibn al-Madīnī*). The last of the *Mujtahid* Imams whose schools remain to this day, he studied under Hushaym, Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d, Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna, ‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād, Yaḥyā b. Abī Zā’ida, Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān and countless others. From him narrated al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, Abū Zur‘a [al-Rāzī], Muṭayyan, his sons ‘Abd Allāh and Ṣalīḥ, Abū al-Qāsim al-Baghawī and a huge array of scholars. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad said: “Abū Zur‘a said to me: ‘Your father memorised a million hadiths.’”

Aḥmad lived at a time when the power of Mu‘tazilites over the caliphate became such that *Ahl al-Sunna wal-Jamā‘a* scholars were routinely persecuted for their affirmation of credal doctrines such as the uncreatedness of the Qur’ān and the vision of Allah in the hereafter. Most of the scholars caved in to the threat of torture except a handful: Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal who was jailed and lashed, Aḥmad b. Naṣr al-Khuza‘ī who was decapitated by al-Wāthiq’s own hand then crucified for six years for declaring that Allah could be seen in the hereafter, Muḥammad b. Nūḥ,<sup>170</sup> Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād who died in chains, al-Faḍl b. Dukayn who replied to his inquisitor, “The Qur’ān is the Speech of Allah and I fear less for my neck than for my shirt-button,” ‘Affān b. Muslim, al-Buwayṭī who died in chains, Ismā‘īl b. Abī Uways, Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhrī, Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥammānī, ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Muṣhir who died in prison, and al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn al-Ḍibbī. Others simply answered “Yes, it is created” and were re-

<sup>170</sup> See *al-Hathth* §46 and biographical entry “Ibn Nūḥ.”

leased with a gift of two dinars.

At the time of Alḥmad's 28-month detention and lashing by the authorities he was pressed in vain to admit to the creation of the Qur'ān by relentless arguments which he all rebutted as narrated by his son the hadith master Abū al-Fadl Ṣalīḥ b. Alḥmad:

- What do you say about the Qur'ān?
- And you, what do you say about the knowledge of Allāh?
- Did Allah not say: *Allah is the Creator of all things* (Sūrat al-Ra‘d 13:16)—is not the Qur'ān a thing?
- Allah also said: *Destroying all things* (Sūrat al-Alqāf 46:25), then it [the wind] destroyed all except whatever Allāh willed.
- *Never comes there unto them a new (muḥdath) reminder from their Lord* (Sūrat al-Anbiyā' 21:2). Can something new be other than created?
- Allah said: *Ṣād. By the Qur'ān that contains the Reminder* (Sūrat Ṣād 38:1). “The” reminder is the Qur'ān, while the other verse does not say “the.”<sup>171</sup>
- But the hadith of ‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn states: “Allah created the Reminder.”
- That is not correct, several narrated it to us as: “Allah wrote the Reminder.”<sup>172</sup>
- What about the hadith of Ibn Mas‘ūd: “Allah did not create a garden of Paradise nor a fire of Hell nor a heaven nor an earth more tremendous (*a‘zam*) than the Verse of the Throne (2:255)?”<sup>173</sup>

<sup>171</sup> Another version states that he answered: “It is possible that it is the Qur'ān’s revelation to us (*tanzīluhu ilaynā*) that is new; not the *dhikr* itself.” Narrated through al-Bayhaqī by Ibn Kathīr in *al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya* (ed. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Muhsin al-Turkī, 21 vols., Jīza (Egypt): Dār Hajar, 1419/1998) 14:385.

<sup>172</sup> al-Bukhārī (*Bad’ al-khalq*): “Allah was when there was nothing else than Him, and His Throne was upon the water, and He wrote in the Reminder (*al-dhikr*) all things, and He created the heavens and the earth.”

<sup>173</sup> al-Tirmidhī (*Faḍā’il al-Qur’ān, mā jā’ fī Sūrat Āl ‘Imrān*) in which he mentions Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna’s explanation that this is because the Gar-

- Being created here applies to the Garden, the Fire, heaven and earth. It does not apply to the Qur'ān.
- The narration of Khabbāb states: "I admonish you to approach Allah with all that you can; but you can never approach Him with something dearer to Him than His Speech."<sup>174</sup>
- And that is true.

When Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Mustamlī asked him about the undisputed hadith master ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī—one of al-Bukhārī’s teachers: “Did he [‘Abd al-Razzāq] possess *fiqh*?” Alḥmad replied: “How rare is *fiqh* among those who know hadith!” Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī (d. 304/ca.917) said: “I came to Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal in the early days of al-Mutawakkil’s rule and said, ‘Narrate a hadith to me by which I shall remember you and invoke mercy upon you.’ He said: ‘Marwān al-Fazārī narrated to us, from Hilāl Abū al-Mu‘allā, from Anas: Three birds were offered to the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and he gave his servant one of them to eat. The next day she brought it to him. He said: ‘Did I not forbid you to store up food? Truly, Allah Most High provides the sustenance of each morning.’”<sup>175</sup> Then Alḥmad said: ‘This is very suited for you, Sufi! Narrate it’ (*hādhā min bābatik yā ṣūfī, haddithbih!*)”<sup>176</sup>

**Bishr b. al-Ḥārith:** Abū Naṣr al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī, known as Bishr al-Ḥāfi (The Barefooted) (151-227/768-842), was a disciple of Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyāḍ and teacher of al-Sarī al-Saqatī. He took hadith from Mālik, Ibn al-Mubārak,

den, the Fire, etc. are all created as opposed to the Qur'ān.

<sup>174</sup> al-Ḥākim, *Mustadrak* (2:441); al-Bayhaqī, *Asmā'* (1:587-588 §513-514).

<sup>175</sup> Alḥmad through a fair chain according to al-Haythamī (10:546 §18188 and 10:579 §18273).

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila* (1:418-419).

Hammād b. Zayd, Sharīk, Hushaym, and others. Al-Dāraqutnī called him *zāhid jabal thiqa*—an ascetic who is a mountain of knowledge and trustworthiness. Among his sayings: “If talking pleases you, keep silent; and if silence pleases you, then speak.” His grandfather was a Khurasani Zoroastrian named Bābūr. Ibn al-Jawzī relates from Zubda, Bishr’s sister:

One time Bishr entered my house late at night. He placed one of his feet inside the house and the other outside, and remained thus in reflection until dawn. Later I asked him: “What were you thinking about all night?” He said: “I was thinking of Bishr-the-Christian, Bishr-the-Jew, Bishr-the-Zoroastrian, and about my soul and about my name of Bishr (gladness), and I said to myself: ‘What have you done to merit that He single you out?’ And I kept thinking of His immense favor towards me, and thanking Him that He has made me one of His special servants and clothed me with the vestment of His beloved ones.”<sup>177</sup>

He once met a drunkard on the road who began kissing him and shouting: *Yā sayyidi! Yā Abā Nasr!* and Bishr did not push him away from him. When the drunkard left, Bishr’s eyes filled with tears and he said: “A man who loved another man because he imagined that there was some good in him—yet perhaps the lover is saved while the one who is loved is uncertain about his own fate.” Imam Alḥmad was in awe of Bishr and considered him one of the “Substitute-Saints” (*Abdāl*), only regretting that he did not complete the Sunna by marrying.<sup>178</sup>

**al-Fuḍayl b. ‘Iyād** (d. 187/803): One of the famous early

<sup>177</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*, sub Bishr b. al-Ḥārith.

<sup>178</sup> Ibn Abī Ya‘lā, *Ṭabaqāt* (1:263) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (1:445).

ascetics and scholars who took hadith from Sufyān, a friend of Ibn al-Mubārak and teacher to major figures such as al-Shāfi‘ī, Ashhab (Mālik’s student) and Bishr al-Ḥāfi. He was among those reputed to eat and sleep so little that he used to pray the *fajr* prayer with the same ablution as his last *‘ishā* prayer.<sup>179</sup> Al-Khaṭīb in his *Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Hadīth* narrates from him that he called hadith scholars “The Inheritors of Prophets.” Al-Khallāl cites him once (§29).

**al-Hasan:** al-Hasan b. Abī al-Hasan Yasār Abū Sa‘id al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), one of the major early Imams of jurisprudence, Hadith (he transmits over 1,400 narrations in the Nine Books alone), and Qur’ānic exegesis, considered by the Basrians to be the greatest of the *Tābi‘īn* and by the *Salaf* (such as Qatāda) to be one of the “Substitute-Saints” (*Abdāl*). He was the son of a freedwoman of Umm Salama the Mother of the Believers and a freedman of Zayd b. Thābit, the stepson of the Prophet—upon him and them blessings and peace. Umm Salama nursed him. His mother took him as a child to ‘Umar who supplicated for him with the words: “O Allāh! Make him wise in the Religion and beloved to people.” He became famous for his strict embodiment of the Sunna of the Prophet, knowledge, piety and simple living (*zuhd*), fearless remonstrances of the authorities, and power of attraction both in discourse and appearance. One of the early formal Sufis in both the general and the literal sense, he wore all his life a cloak of wool (*ṣūf*). He used to swear by Allah that the true believer could not feel other than sadness in this world<sup>180</sup> and was

<sup>179</sup> Mullā ‘Alī al-Qārī, *Sharḥ ‘Ayn al-‘Ilm* (2 vols. in 1, Cairo: al-Maṭba‘at al-‘Āmira, 1291/1874) 1:67-68.

<sup>180</sup> Narrated from Shumayt, ‘Abbād b. Hishām, Ḥazm b. Abī Ḥazm and others by Abū Nu‘aym (2:133).

the reason Ḥabīb al-‘Ajamī abandoned trading and entered the path of asceticism and perpetual worship.<sup>181</sup> He defined the *faqīh* as “he who has renounced the world, longs for the hereafter, possesses insight in his Religion, and worships his Lord without cease” and he described *tahajjud* as “the hardest thing I have ever seen; it is the act of the Godwary (*al-muttaqīn*) and it is obligatory (*fard*) upon the Muslims, if only the time it takes to milk an ewe.”<sup>182</sup> About the memorisers of Qur’ān in his time al-Hasan said:

The reciters of Qur’ān (*al-qurrā'*) are three types. The first take the Qur’ān as a merchandise by which to earn their bread; the second uphold its letters and lose its laws, aggrandising themselves over the people of their country and seeking gain through it from the rulers. There are many *qurrā'* that belong to that type. May Allah not increase them! Finally, the third type have sought the healing of the Qur’ān and applied it over their sick hearts, fleeing with it to their places of prayer, wrapping themselves in it. Those have felt fear and put on the garment of sadness. Those are the ones for whose sake Allah sends rain and victory over the enemies. By Allah! That kind of *qāri'* is rarer than red sulphur.<sup>183</sup>

**al-Hasan b. ‘Arafa** al-‘Abdī al-Mu’addib (150-257/767-871) was the student of Ismā‘il b. ‘Ayyāsh and Ibn al-Mubārak and centenarian teacher of al-Tirmidhī, Ibn Mājah, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and countless others. He authored the famous *Juz’ Ibn ‘Arafa* and said of himself: “Five generations (*khamsat*

<sup>181</sup> Cf. chapter on Ḥabīb al-‘Ajamī in Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Tabaqāt al-Awliyā'*.

<sup>182</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ādāb al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī* (ed. Sulaymān al-Harsh, Damascus: Dār al-Ṣiddīq, 1426/2005) p. 29-31.

<sup>183</sup> In al-Qāsim b. Sallām, *Faḍā'il al-Qur’ān* (ed. Wahbī Sulaymān Ghāwjī, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1411/1991) p. 60 §4.

*qurūn*) have narrated from me.”<sup>184</sup>

**Hudhayfa** b. Qatāda al-Mar‘ashī al-Anṭākī (d. 207/822): A disciple of Sufyān and one of the ascetics who, like Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī, Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ and others, never ate anything unless absolutely certain of its licitness. Among his sayings: “Whoever loves voluntary worship (*nawāfił*) more than to leave this world, I am not sure he will not be bankrupt.” “None has ever been afflicted by worse a thing than a hard heart.” “For me to avoid a single sin is dearer than to go on pilgrimage.” “Let your work be for Allah; love for others what you love for yourself; and scrutinise the provenance of your piece of bread: do these three things and you will have a share in every blessing that comes down from heaven.”<sup>185</sup>

**Ibn Aslam:** Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aslam b. Sālim b. Yazīd al-Ṭūsī al-Kindī, *mawlāhum* (d. 242/856), author of a *Musnad* and of the famous *Arba‘ūn al-Ṭūsiyya* and one of the major Sufis, student to al-Naḍr b. Shumayl and teacher to Ibn Khuzayma among many others, “He resembled nothing less than the Companions of the Prophet, upon him blessings and peace” (Muḥammad b. Rāfi‘); “the *Rabbānī* of this *Umma*, the like of whom my eye never saw” (Ibn Khuzayma); “the *Sawād al-A‘ẓam*, stauncher a Sunni I never heard of in fifty years” (Ishāq b. Rāhūyah); “one of the trustworthy hadith masters and *abdāl* among the *awliyā’*, he resembled Alīmad b. Ḥanbal” (al-Dhahabī). His funeral was witnessed by a million people.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>184</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:327 §1042) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (2:293-294 §523).

<sup>185</sup> Abū Nu‘aym (8:268-270).

<sup>186</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkīrat al-Huffāz* (sub Muḥammad b. Aslam b. Sālim).

**Ibn Mahdī:** Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Mahdī b. Ḥassān al-‘Anbarī al-Baṣrī (135-198/753-814), one of the major early Imams of hadith, Sufyān al-Thawrī’s devoted student, ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī’s teacher and a Mālikī according to the latter. Al-Shāfi‘ī said: “I do not know his peer in the entire world” and authored the *Risāla* on the principles of jurisprudence upon his request. He took hadith from Mālik, the two Sufyāns, the two Ḥammāds (b. Zayd and b. Salama), Shu‘ba, al-Mājishūn, and Sharīk. From him narrated Ibn Wahb, Alḥmad, Ibn Ma‘īn, Ibn al-Madīnī, Ibn Sallām, Ibn Abī Shayba, and others. Whenever he read out Hadith, he would order his students to be silent and recite *O you who believe! Lift not up your voices above the voice of the Prophet* (*Sūrat al-Ḥujurāt* 49:2). Asked how he could tell the authentic hadith from the inauthentic he replied: “As the physician knows the madman.” Challenged about his dismissal of a man’s narration he replied: “Do you see the man who brings a coin to the jeweller, asking him to examine a certain coin? If the jeweller says to him, ‘It is counterfeit’ and he challenges his opinion the jeweller will reply: ‘Stick to my job for twenty years as I have done so that you will know what I know.’” Another time he said: “Knowledge of hadith is inspiration (*ilhām*).”

Certain partisans of the Madinan School incorrectly cite Ibn Mahdī as saying, “The Sunna of the people of Madina is more excellent than hadith.” The correct form of this statement is: “Some of the Sunna of the people of Madina is better than the hadith”—meaning, said Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, better than the hadith we have with us in Iraq.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>187</sup> al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmi‘* (2:382-383 §§1835, 1837-1838); Ibn Farḥūn, *al-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma‘rifat ‘Ulamā’ al-Madhab* (ed. Ma‘mūn b. Muhyī al-Dīn al-Jannān, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1996) p. 238; Ibn ‘Abd

**Ibn Muḥayrīz:** ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥayrīz (d. 99/718) was a major Imam of the *Tābi‘īn* in law and hadith in Makka.

**Ibn Nūḥ:** Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b. Maymūn al-‘Ijlī (d. 218/833), one of the *Ahl al-Sunna* scholars who were persecuted from the start of the Abbasid-Mu‘tazilite Inquisition (*al-mihna*) and never yielded. He lived in Baghdad next door to Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal who praised him as trustworthy and recommended for others to take Hadith from him although he narrated very few hadiths, among them one which he alone transmits, from Ibn ‘Umar, that the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—said: “There is no *Umma* except some of it is in Paradise and some of it in Hellfire, except my *Umma*: truly it is [all] in Paradise.” al-Ma’mūn had him and Imam Alḥmad arrested together with instructions they be brought to the imperial Abbasid capital of al-Raqqa in present-day Syria. Alḥmad related:

I never saw stauncher in upholding what Allah commands than Muḥammad b. Nūḥ despite his young age and humble knowledge. I believe that Allah did in fact give him an excellent end. He told me one day when we were alone: “Abū ‘Abd Allāh—Allah, Allah!—you are not like me; you are a man who is a guide to others. The masses are stretching their necks to see what you will do next. So fear Allah and be firm on what He commands!” I was astonished at him, how he was encouraging me to be strong and admonishing me—and see how he was granted to die! He endured like this and fell ill then somewhere along the way—in ‘Āna—he died. I prayed over him and buried him.<sup>188</sup>

al-Barr, *al-Tamhīd li-mā fil-Muwatṭa'* min al-Ma‘āni wal-Asāni (ed. Mūṣṭafā b. Alḥmad al-‘Alawī and Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Kabīr al-Bakrī, 26 vols., Rabat: al-Maṭba‘at al-Malakiyya, 1387/1967) 1:79-81.

<sup>188</sup> Narrated from Ḥanbal b. Isḥāq b. Ḥanbal (Alḥmad’s cousin) cf. al-

**Ibrāhīm b.** Yazīd al-Nakha‘ī al-Kūfī, Abū ‘Imrān (d. 96/715): One of the major Imams of the junior *Tābi‘īn*, famed for his piety and scrupulosity. He saw ‘Ā’isha and narrated from the senior *Tābi‘īn* such as his maternal uncle al-Aswad b. Yazīd (d. 74/693) and ‘Alqama.<sup>189</sup>

**Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham** (d. 161 or 162/779): One of the Arab ascetics from the nobility of the Banū ‘Ijl. He harvested fields for hire, singing poetry such as *Take Allah for a friend / and leave aside mankind*. When he finished harvesting he would send one of his companions to collect their pay and would not touch the dirhams by hand but gift his share to his friends saying: “Go and eat with it what you like.” If he did not harvest he would guard orchards and fields for hire. He fasted every day whether travelling or at home and did not sleep at night but sat and meditated. He ground grain with his bare hand. Yahyā b. Yamān said that whenever Sufyān sat with Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham he would refrain from speech. He was extremely generous. Sahl b. Ibrāhīm related: “I accompanied Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham on a trip. He spent his reserves on me then I fell ill. I was missing a certain food so he sold his donkey and got it for me. I said: ‘What are we going to ride on?’ He said: ‘On my neck.’ Then he carried me for three travel stops.” He was a person of many miracles (*karāmāt*) and was seen once eating dates from an oak-tree. Another time a shipwreck was averted after his *du‘ā*. Among his sayings: “Every king that is unjust is on a par with thieves; every scholar that is not Godwary is on a par with wolves; and anyone that serves other than Allah is on a par with dogs.”<sup>190</sup>

Khaṭib, *Tārīkh* (3:322-323). Anah is an Iraqi town between Haditha and the Syrian border.

<sup>189</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:227 §221).

<sup>190</sup> al-Dhahabī, (ed. ‘Umar Tadmuri, 53 vols., Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-

**Ikrima** (d. 106/725): Mawlā Ibn ‘Abbās, one of the major exegetes of the *Tabi‘in*, he narrated from Ibn ‘Abbās and Abū Hurayra, and from him Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī among countless others. He was “very trustworthy except he was an Ibadi who validated armed rebellion... Mālik avoided [narrating from] him” (al-Dhahabī).<sup>191</sup>

**Ka‘b** al-Ālibār b. Māti‘ al-Himyarī, Abū Ishāq (68BH-34/556-655): He was an erudite Yemeni Jew who converted to Islam after the death of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—and came to Madina in ‘Umar’s caliphate then moved to Syro-Palestine and died in Ḥimṣ. He is trustworthy in hadith and is one of the *Tabi‘in* from whom major Companions and Successors related reports such as Abū Hurayra, Ibn ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr and Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab among many others. His narrations are in the Four *Sunan*. He died aged over 100 in the caliphate of ‘Uthmān.<sup>192</sup>

**Ma‘mar** b. Rāshid al-Ṣan‘ānī (d. 153/770): the major pious hadith master and author of a *Jāmi‘* in hadith, he was the principal teacher of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī among many others.

**al-Ma’mūn** was the Abbasid Abū Ja‘far ‘Abd Allāh al-Ma’mūn b. Hārūn (170-218/786-833), son of Hārūn al-Rashid, who succeeded his brother al-Amīn and ruled for two decades from 197/813 until his death. Just a few months before his death he initiated the Islamic Inquisition (*al-mihna*) against mainstream orthodoxy in promo-

<sup>191</sup>Arabi, 1418/1998) 10:50-55 cf. Abū Nu‘aym (7:368-end and 8:1-58).

<sup>191</sup> *Kāshif* (2:33 §3867).

<sup>192</sup> Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (8:438-440 §793).

tion of Mu‘tazilism and the non-Sunni tenets of the created nature of the Qur‘ān and the non-vision of Allah by the believers in the hereafter.

**Mujāhid** b. Jabr, Abū al-Hajjāj al-Makhzūmī (d. 102), one of the major commentators of the Qur‘ān among the *Tābi‘īn* and of the highest rank in reliability among hadith narrators (*thiqā*). Ibn Sa‘d in his *Tabaqāt* and others narrate that he went over the explanation of the Holy Qur‘ān together with his teacher Ibn ‘Abbās thirty times. Al-A‘mash said: “Mujāhid was like someone who carried a treasure—whenever he spoke, pearls came out of his mouth.” Among his famous sayings: “There is no creature of Allah except you can take or leave what they said except the Prophet.”<sup>193</sup>

**al-Mu‘taṣim** was the Abbasid caliph Abū Ishaq ‘Abbas al-Mu‘taṣim b. Hārūn (178-227/794-842), a son of Hārūn al-Rashīd, who succeeded his half-brother al-Ma’mūn as caliph and ruled for nine years (218-227/833–842). At first he continued his predecessors’ support for Mu‘tazilism, and repression of dissenters but he then ended the repression and freed Ahmad and others from jail.

**Qatāda** b. Di‘āma, Abū al-Khaṭṭāb al-Sadūsī (61-118/681-736): One of the well-established trustworthy hadith masters and a major Imam of *tafsīr* among the *Tābi‘īn*. He was blind and heard from Anas and ‘Abd Allāh b. Sarjis, and from him Ayyūb al-Sakhtiyānī, Shu‘ba and Abū ‘Awāna among many others.<sup>194</sup>

<sup>193</sup> Abū Nu‘aym (3:280); Dhahabī, *Siyar* and Ibn al-Jawzī, *Sifat al-Šafwa* (both of them *sub Mujāhid*).

<sup>194</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:134 §4551).

**Sa‘id b. Jubayr**, Abū Muḥammad and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Wābilī *mawlāhūm* (46-95/666-714): Ibn ‘Abbās’s close student and one of the major Imams of the *Tābi‘īn* in *tafsīr* and *fiqh*, he also studied with ‘Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal. From him narrated al-A‘mash and countless others. He died a *shahīd*. He was of Abyssinian origin.<sup>195</sup>

**Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab** b. Ḥazn, Abū Muḥammad (14-94/635-713): The son and grandson of the Companions al-Musayyab and his father Ḥazn b. Abī Wahb al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī, greatest of the *Tābi‘īn* narrators of hadith, and one of the “Seven Jurists of Madina” whose agreement Mālik deemed a Consensus binding on the entire *Umma*.<sup>196</sup> His *mursal* (missing the Companion-link) reports are considered the most authentic of their type.

**Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad** b. Muḥammad b. Ḥanbal, Abū al-Faḍl (203-265/ 819-879): Aḥmad’s eldest son and ‘Abd Allāh’s half-brother, a Ḥanbali jurist and hadith master. He narrated from his father, Ibn al-Madīnī and others, and from him al-Baghawī, Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim, Ibn Abī Ḥātim and others. He chronicled Imam Aḥmad’s Ordeal (*mīḥna*) at the hands of the Mu‘tazilī state.<sup>197</sup> At his appointment ceremony as

<sup>195</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshīf* (1:433 §1860).

<sup>196</sup> These seven are: Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, ‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr, Khārijah b. Zayd, Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Utba and Sulaymān b. Yaśar. Ibn al-Mubārak names Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar instead of Abū Salama while Abū al-Zinād mentions Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith instead of either. Some name Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. Ḥazm. See al-Nawawī, *al-Taqrīb li-Sunan al-Bashir al-Nadhir* (‘Ilmiyya ed. p. 98) and Ibn al-Subkī in the 1992 ed. of his *Tabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-Kubrā* (5:147).

<sup>197</sup> Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Sīrat al-Imām Aḥmad* (ed. Muḥammad al-Zughlī, Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1997).

head judge of Ispahan in its great mosque he wept and said: “I weep because I thought of my father seeing me in such a state—covered in riches.” Later he said: “Whenever a self-denier or ascetic (*zāhid aw mutaqashshif*) visited him he would send for me so I could look at him. He loved for me to become like that. But Allah knows I did not enter into this worldly affair except due to overwhelming debt and many dependants.”<sup>198</sup> Al-Khallāl does not narrate directly from him but through at least one intermediary (cf. §§12, 111).

**al-Sarī b. Yaḥyā** al-Shaybānī al-Baṣrī (d. 167/784) is a trustworthy hadith scholar who narrated from al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and ‘Amr b. Dīnār. The major hadith masters ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb and Imam Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj narrated from him.<sup>199</sup>

**al-Sha‘bī**: ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥil Abū ‘Amr al-Sha‘bī (d. 103 or 104/ ca.722), one of the major Imams of the junior *Tābi‘īn* in hadith narration as well as *fiqh*, he was compared to Ibn ‘Abbās in his time. Maklūl said: “I never saw more judicious than al-Sha‘bī.” Born in the time of ‘Umar, he narrated from ‘Alī, Abū Hurayra and al-Mughīra among many others and had countless students. He said he was able to meet 500 Companions and that he had a photographic memory.<sup>200</sup>

**Sharīk** b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Nakha‘ī Abū ‘Abd Allāh (95-177/714-793) the Qadi of Kufa and major hadith master, he narrated from Salama b. Kuhayl, and from him Ibn Abī

<sup>198</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (12:529-530).

<sup>199</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:427 §1814).

<sup>200</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:522 §2531).

Shayba among others. His narrations are in the *Sunan*.<sup>201</sup>

**Shu‘ba** b. al-Hājjāj, Abū Bisṭām al-‘Atakī al-Baṣrī (d. 160/776): One of the 30 or so “Commanders of the Believers in Hadith.” He narrated from Qatāda and others. About 2,000 reports revolve around him in the Six Books.<sup>202</sup>

**Sufyān**: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Sufyān b. Sa‘īd b. Masrūq al-Thawrī al-Muḍarī al-Kūfī (97-161/716-778), the Godfearing, wise, ascetic, grief-stricken Imam, “Commander of the Believers in Hadith”—the highest level in hadith mastership—with a photographic memory, “Shaykh al-Islām and leader of the practicing Ulema in his time” (al-Dhahabī). He spoke precious words on money matters. He was once asked a question while he was buying something. He replied: “Leave me alone, my heart is with my dirham right now.” He said: “I would much prefer to leave behind 10,000 dirhams over which Allah takes account of me rather than stand in need of people.” He also said: “In the past, money was disliked; but today it is the shield of the believer.” To a man who told him: “Abū ‘Abd Allah! You hold dinars in your hand?” He replied: “Be quiet! Were it not for them, the kings would use us to wipe themselves (*la-tamandala binā al-mulūk*)!” He also said: “The ‘ālim is the cure in the Religion and money its disease. If the ‘ālim drags the disease to himself, when can he heal others?”

Qabīsa b. ‘Uqba said that no-one sat with Sufyān except they remembered death. Yūsuf b. Asbāt<sup>203</sup> narrates that he once handed Sufyān the ablution-pot in the evening and left him holding it pensively. When he saw him again at

<sup>201</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:485 §2276).

<sup>202</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:485 §2278).

<sup>203</sup> Or Asbāt. One of the ascetics. See on him Ibn ‘Asākir, *Tārikh* (7:129).

dawn, he had not moved from his spot. He said: “I am still thinking about the next life.” He would reach states of anxiety about the Day of Judgment in which he urinated blood. He said: “I may see something against which I ought to speak out but I do not, then I urinate blood.” He also said: “I felt the fear of Allah to a point I wondered how I could still be alive, then I would say to myself: I have a fixed term of life, but I wish it were made lighter for me. My fear [of Allah] is such that I fear losing my mind.” Another time he said: “I ask Allah to take away some of my fear of Him.” Ibn Mahdī said: “Night after night I would catch sight of Sufyān sitting up and calling out: ‘The Fire! The Fire! I cannot sleep nor feel pleasure anymore because I think of the Fire.’” Abū Nu‘aym said that Sufyān would be “useless for days” whenever this state overtook him.

Sufyān’s garb was coarse and ragged and he ate dried meat and eggs. He said to Mu’ammal: “I do not tell you not to eat good things. Dress well and eat good things.”

Ibn Mahdī once said: “I could not look at Sufyān directly, he was too intimidating and full of majesty.” When he took care of Sufyān in his last illness he asked him about the permissibility of leaving the congregational prayer to that end. Sufyān said: “Serving a Muslim in need for one hour is better than congregational prayer.” Ibn Mahdī said: “From whom did you hear this?” Sufyān replied: “‘Āsim b. ‘Ubayd Allāh narrated to me from ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a, from his father [the Companion ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a al-‘Anzī]: ‘I would prefer serving one man among the Muslims who is in need for a single day to 60 years of congregational prayers in which I never missed the opening *takbīra*.’”<sup>204</sup>

<sup>204</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Manāqib al-Imām al-A‘ẓam Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī* (Ṭanṭā: Dār al-Šaḥāba, 1413/1993); al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:204).

**Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna**, Abū Muḥammad al-Hilālī, *mawlāhūm*, al-Kūfī al-A‘war (d. 198/814): One of the major, trustworthy early Imams and masters of hadith, he narrated from al-Zuhrī, ‘Amr b. Dīnār, al-A‘mash and Ibn Jurayj; and from him al-Shāfi‘ī, Alīmad, Ibn al-Madīnī, and al-Za‘farānī. Al-Khallāl related from Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī, from Alīmad b. Ḥanbal: I heard Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna say: “Your thought about tomorrow’s sustenance is recorded against you as a sin.”<sup>205</sup>

**Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ**: A companion of Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham and one of the extreme ascetics who practised scavenging (*līqāt*)<sup>206</sup> and was intensely scrupulous about the licitness of anything he ate. Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz went in to see him one day and said:

- Why are you sitting in the dark?
- The darkness of the grave is much worse.
- Why alone?
- A companion has rights and I fear lest I violate them.
- Take this purse a spend from it; I swear before Allah it is licit.
- I have no need of it.
- Allah have mercy on you. Do you not see the state of people? Make *du‘ā*!
- [Shouting] What is wrong with you, Sa‘īd? First you entice me with *dunyā* then you entice me with religion? What is my *du‘ā* and who am I!

Sa‘īd left and recounted everything to al-Awzā‘ī who said: “Leave Sulaymān alone. He could be one of the Companions and he would still be a model of piety.”<sup>207</sup>

<sup>205</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (14:297-298 §193).

<sup>206</sup> See §26.

<sup>207</sup> Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣifat al-Ṣafwa*, sub Ibrāhīm al-Khawwāṣ.

**Tāwūs b. Kaysān** Abū ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Yamānī (d. 106/724), the *Tābi‘ī* Imam of canonical readings and jurisprudence. He hailed from Persia and was named Dhakwān but was nicknamed “Peacock” (*tāwūs*) in reference to his leadership in *qirā'a*. He narrated from ‘Ā’isha, Ibn ‘Abbās, and Abū Hurayra. From him narrated al-Zuhrī and others. ‘Amr b. Dīnār said: “I never saw anyone like him.” He died in Makka.<sup>208</sup>

**‘Urwa b. al-Zubayr**, Abū ‘Abd Allāh (d. 93 or 94/713): One of the major, abundant hadith narrators and jurists of the *Tābi‘īn* and a most meticulous, trustworthy scholar who narrated from his parents, his maternal aunt Zaynab bint al-‘Awwām al-Asadiyya, ‘Alī b. Abī Tālib and many others. From him narrated his children ‘Uthmān, Hishām, ‘Abd Allāh, Yaḥyā, and Muḥammad; al-Zuhrī; and others. His son Hishām said: “My father fasted all year all his life and he died fasting.”<sup>209</sup>

**Waki‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ** Abū Sufyān al-Ru’asī (128-197/746-812): One of the major Imams of hadith, teacher to al-Shāfi‘ī, Alīmad who said he never saw anyone stronger in memorisation, al-Qāsim b. Sallām, Ibn Abī Shayba and Isḥāq b. Rāhiyah, and a student of al-A‘mash, Hishām b. ‘Urwa, and the two most senior students of Imam Abū Ḥanīfa, Abū Yūsuf and especially Zufar b. al-Hudhayl. al-Khallāl narrates from him through a single intermediary, which is quite a “high” (i.e. short-chained and/or prestigious) transmission for him.<sup>210</sup> Waki‘ compiled a *Muṣannaf*

<sup>208</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (1:512-513 §2461).

<sup>209</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Kāshif* (2:18 §3775).

<sup>210</sup> Once through Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahdī (§40) who is unknown, and otherwise through Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il b. Samura al-

that was studied by al-Bukhārī among others. The latter said: “I learned the books of Ibn al-Mubārak and Waki‘ and knew their sayings by heart at age sixteen.” Waki‘ preferred long-chained narrations through jurists (*fuqahā’*) to short-chained ones through non-*fuqahā’* and said: “The hadith current among the jurists is better than the one current among hadith scholars.”<sup>211</sup> This is a foundational rule in the Ḥanafī school which, like Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān, Waki‘ followed.<sup>212</sup> Al-Shāfi‘ī—who, like Waki‘, fasted every day of the year—declaimed:

*I complained to Waki‘ of my poor memory.  
He told me to quit sins once and for all.  
He told me knowledge is a light:  
His light Allah grants not to those who sin.*<sup>213</sup>

**Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd:** Abū Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān al-Baṣrī (120-198/738-814), the teacher of ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī and Alīmad b. Ḥanbal and one of the major early Imams of hadith who is counted among the handful of “Commanders of the Believers in Hadith” according to al-Dhahabī. Despite his rank in hadith and narrator-commendation and discreditation (*al-jarh wal-ta‘dil*) he would not venture to extract legal rulings from the evidence but followed in this Abū Ḥanīfa’s *fiqh* as he explicitly declared: “We do not belie Allāh. We never heard better than the juridical opinion (*ra’y*) of Abū Ḥanīfa and we follow most of his positions.”<sup>214</sup>

Aḥmasī (d. 260?/874) (§52ff.), a principal source of both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Abī Ḥātim in their *Tafsīrs*.

<sup>211</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (9:158, 12:328-329).

<sup>212</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:307) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (11:126-127).

<sup>213</sup> al-Shāfi‘ī, *Dīwān*.

<sup>214</sup> al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkira* (1:307) and Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (10:450).

Al-Nawawī relates on the authority of Ishāq al-Shāhidī:

I would see Yaḥyā al-Qaṭṭān—may Allāh the Exalted have mercy on him!—pray the midafternoon prayer then sit with his back against the base of the minaret of his mosque. Then ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī, al-Shādhakūnī, ‘Amr b. ‘Alī, Alīmad b. Ḥanbal, Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn and others would stand before him on their feet and question him about hadith until it was time for the sunset prayer. He would not say to a single one of them to sit nor would they sit, out of awe and reverence.<sup>215</sup>

When a certain man began to question him about a specific wording inside a hadith Yaḥyā said to him: “Yā Fulān! There is not in the whole world anything more sublime than the Book of Allah, yet He has permitted that its words be recited in seven different dialects. So do not be so strict!”<sup>216</sup> Al-Khaṭīb mentions many early authorities as allowing the narration of Prophetic Hadith other than in its precise original wording and he narrates examples from Ibn Mas‘ūd, Abū al-Dardā’ and Anas to that effect. He also narrates from Waki‘ and Mālik the prohibition of narrating Prophetic hadiths other than in their precise original wording.<sup>217</sup>

<sup>215</sup> al-Nawawī, *al-Tarkhīṣ fil-Ikrām bil-Qiyām li-Dhawī al-Fadl wal-Mazīyya min Ahl al-Islām ‘alā Jihat al-Birr wal-Tawqīr wal-Iḥtirām lā ‘alā Jihat al-Riyā’ wal-‘zām* (The Permissibility of Dignifying, by Standing up, Those Who Possess Excellence and Distinction Among the People of Islam: In the Spirit of Piousness, Reverence and Respect, Not in the Spirit of Display and Aggrandisement) (ed. Kilānī Muḥammad Khalifa, Beirut: Dār al-Bashā’ir al-Islāmiyya, 1988) p. 58.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. al-Shāfi‘ī, *Risāla* (ed. Alīmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo: Maktabat wa-Maṭba‘at al-Ḥalabī, 1359/1940, rept. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, n.d.) p. 274 §753.

<sup>217</sup> al-Khaṭīb, *Jāmi‘* (2:24-28 §1108-1117).

## GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

- Abdāl*, sing. *badal* = “Substitute-saints,” high-ranked *awliyā'*  
*akhbaranī/ā fulān* = X reported to me/us  
*'ard* = presentation, a reading of hadith before a shaykh  
*anba' anī/ā fulān* = X informed me/us  
*du'a'* = supplication, prayer  
*dunyā* = (of) the material world  
*fard* = categorical obligation  
*fiqh* = lit. thorough understanding; sacred law  
*ghinā', istighnā'* = wealth, sufficiency, independence  
*haddathanī/ā fulān* = X narrated to me/us  
*halāl* = licit (income or sustenance), as opposed to *harām*  
*harām* = illicit (income or sustenance), as opposed to *halāl*  
*ijāzatan* = through a license of transmission  
*islāh* = maintenance and improvement of one's property  
*Jāhiliyya* = “Great Ignorance,” the pre-Islamic period  
*jihad* = struggle for the sake of Allah, esp. military  
*māl* = property, holdings, wealth, money  
*mursal* = a hadith or chain missing the Companion-link  
*qara'tu/qara'nā 'alā* = I/we read before X  
*rizq* = sustenance such as income and/or food  
*Salaf* = the pious predecessors, esp. the first three centuries  
*sami'tu/sami'nā fulānan yaqul* = I/we heard X say  
*shahid* = a Muslim martyr  
Shaykh al-Islām = an honorific title given to some scholars  
*siyām* = fasting  
*Tabi'i*, pl. *Tābi'un/īn* = “Successors” of the Companions  
*tahajjud* = a sunna of voluntary vigil prayer  
*takbira* = the litany *Allāhu akbar* inside or outside prayer  
*Umma* = Nation; Community of the Prophet Muḥammad  
*'uzla* = isolation, seclusion  
*wara'* = scrupulous Godwariness; precautionary avoidance



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**INDICES:**

**INDEX OF QUR'ĀNIC VERSES**

**INDEX OF HADITHS**

**INDEX OF OTHER SAYINGS**

**GENERAL INDEX**



## **Index of Qur'ānic Verses**

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| 2:57  | 61         |
| 2:172 | 61         |
| 2:197 | 81, 82     |
| 2:255 | 104        |
| 2:267 | 62, 66, 69 |
| 4:29  | 69         |
| 7:160 | 61         |
| 8:3-4 | 3          |
| 13:16 | 104        |
| 13:28 | 12         |
| 19:71 | 88         |
| 20:81 | 61         |
| 21:2  | 104        |
| 38:1  | 104        |
| 39:23 | 12         |
| 46:25 | 104        |
| 49:2  | 110        |
| 62:9  | 86, 87, 90 |
| 62:10 | 58, 87     |



## Index of Hadiths

- Allah did not create a garden of Paradise nor a fire of Hell nor a heaven nor an earth more tremendous than the Verse of the Throne 104
- Allah was when there was nothing else 104
- Allah wrote the Reminder 104
- Alms are nothing other than the ordure of people 89
- 'Amr! Get dressed, gird your weapon and come and see me 65
- Begging is unlawful except in three cases 93
- best and purest earning is the work of a man's own hand and every lawful-and-blessed trade, The 61
- Buy an ax for a dirham and with the other dirham buy food 93
- Dāwūd never ate other than from the work of his own hand 70
- Did I not forbid you to store up food? 105
- For a man to carry a rope and bundle up firewood which he then sells in the market to be self-sufficient... 90-92
- Go and see if you can find something [to sell] 92
- I marry you to this woman on the basis of whatever you have of the Qur'ān 86
- I will no longer buy anything unless I have its price 67
- If Resurrection rises while one of you is holding a seedling in his hand, let him plant it 72
- If you relied on Allah in the true sense of reliance, He would sustain you the way He sustains the birds 94
- It is my wish for you that you come into wealth 65
- It is enough of a sin for someone to let his dependants perish 14, 73-75
- Messenger of Allah sent out troops among whom was a man named Hudayr 83
- Prophet's purchase on credit 67
- Prophet's sale by auction 92
- Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—has informed us that work is superior to begging 90
- There is no *Umma* except some of it is in Paradise and some of it in Hellfire, except my *Umma*: truly it is [all] in Paradise 111

- This is much better for you  
than to come on the Day  
of Resurrection with a  
blot on your face caused  
by begging 93
- Those words of his are a  
light for him on the Day  
of Resurrection 84
- Three birds were offered to  
the Prophet—upon him  
blessings and peace—and  
he gave his servant one of  
them to eat 105
- O Allāh! I am turning to  
You with Your Prophet  
100
- O Muḥammad! I am  
turning with you to my  
Lord for the fulfillment of  
my need 100
- One who strives to support  
the widow and the needy  
is like one who struggles  
in the path of Allah and  
like one who rises to pray  
at night and fasts in the  
day 75
- Righteous wealth for a  
righteous person is a  
wonderful thing 3, 66
- Tie your camel first then  
rely on Allah 16
- Truly Allāh Most High  
provides the sustenance  
of each morning 105
- Truly this money is verdant  
and sweet; whoever takes  
it rightfully and puts it in  
its rightful place, what a  
wonderful helper it is! 66
- Truly your soul has rights  
over you, your Lord has a  
right over you, your guest  
has a right over you 89
- truthful and trustworthy  
merchant is with the  
seven that are under the  
Throne on the Day of  
Resurrection, The 70
- Whoever has three children  
who die before the age of  
liability will not be  
touched by the Fire 88
- Whoever supports and  
raises two or three  
daughters will have  
Paradise 88
- Zakariyyā was a carpenter 71

## **Index of Other Sayings**

(some of these sayings may have the status of a Prophetic hadith)

- Abū Bakr was the most trade-proficient of all Quraysh until he became involved in governance 67
- Aḥmad bore with poverty for seventy years 13
- ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib used to work until his hand was callused 87
- ‘ālim is the cure in the Religion and money is its disease, The 117
- All people without exception have to trust in Allah but they benefit themselves by earning a living 87
- Allah has devotees beyond Andalusia... 97
- Allah is more generous than to lavish His bounty except He completes it 101
- Anyone that serves other than Allah is on a par with dogs 112
- Approach Allah with all that you can; but you can never approach Him with something dearer to Him than His Speech 105
- Ask for the bounty of Allah and do not be dependants of the Muslims 56
- Asking people is a man's last avenue of income 64
- Autonomy from people through own's own quest is much dearer to us than sitting and waiting for what people have to come to us 88
- Buy and sell even without gain 58
- Carry provisions *and* rely on Allah 16, 78
- Companions of the Prophet—upon him blessings and peace—all used to work, The 87
- Do the deeds of heroes 11, 60
- Do not be without a trade 57
- Do not go to Makka without provision and mount 76
- Do not scorn a penny you acquire by obeying Allah 11, 57
- Do not take risks 16, 76
- Doing-without is only in lawful things 102
- Dress well and eat good things 118
- Each must use wealth to seek the bounty of Allah. Therein lie true worship and faith 69
- Earn a dirham and pray alone 54
- Even a vast property is lost

- when it goes to ruin 53
- Every king that is unjust is on a par with thieves 112
- Every scholar that is not Godwary is on a par with wolves 112
- [Extreme *tawakkul*] is permissible for whoever practises it truthfully 94
- Fear prevents me from eating and drinking 13
- Four thousand and less is for living expenses; whatever exceeds that amount is a treasure 72-73
- Frequent the marketplace and go into commerce 47
- Go alone into the desert! Otherwise you are someone who relies on people's knapsacks 79
- Go gently and spend frugally 59
- He is too strict on himself! 95
- He says 'I will not work' but then he is brought something that was produced and earned by other people—why does he accept it? 87
- He who has renounced the world, longs for the hereafter, possesses insight in his Religion, and worships his Lord without cease 108
- Hearts grow soft by eating lawful food 12
- How rare is *fiqh* among those who know hadith! 105
- I am well as long as no one else carries the burden of feeding me 57
- I ask Allah to take away some of my fear of Him 118
- I cannot sleep nor feel pleasure anymore because I think of the Fire 118
- I complained to Wakī‘ of my poor memory 121
- I fear foolish mismanagement of livelihood for you 53
- I felt the fear of Allah to a point I wondered how I could still be alive 118
- I have been the jurisprudent (*faqīh*) of my food for 60 years 12, 59
- I love to be independent from your kind of people 48
- I never saw any reasonable person among them 80
- I prefer to be buried near a Prophet than near my father 99
- I would prefer to earn a single *qirāṭ* rather than have someone help me out with ten dirhams 60
- Idrīs was a taylor 71

|  |        |   |     |
|--|--------|---|-----|
| If he earns more, he can<br>spend it on his close<br>family, or his house, or a<br>guest               | 89     | Money in our time is a<br>weapon  | 55  |
| If talking pleases you, keep<br>silent; and if silence<br>pleases you, then speak                      | 106    | My father fasted all year all<br>his life and he died<br>fasting  | 120 |
| If you have wheat then turn<br>to worship; if not then<br>seek after it                                | 56     | My fear of Allah is such that<br>I fear losing my mind  | 118 |
| In the past, money was<br>disliked; but today it is<br>the shield of the believer                      | 117    | Never ask others  | 64  |
| Invest in some holdings  | 64     | Never before were assets/<br>resources so vital/bene-<br>ficial as in our time  | 55  |
| It is incumbent on a man to<br>seek knowledge if he has<br>his pittance                                | 56     | nexus of belief is reliance on<br>Allah and the explanation<br>of that reliance is that he<br>be content with whatever<br>He does with him, The | 97  |
| It is not part of your love for<br>this world to pursue, out<br>of it, what improves your<br>situation | 71     | No food is more beloved to<br>me than the food of a<br>truthful merchant  | 63  |
| Independence from people<br>through work is dearer to<br>me than begging                               | 91     | No one must quit work and<br>sit in wait for what is in<br>the hands of people  | 90  |
| Keep a work schedule at the<br>marketplace   | 59     | Nothing is as precious to<br>me as poverty  | 13  |
| little property you maintain<br>will endure, A   | 53     | Nothing is as precious to<br>me than patience in<br>poverty   | 13  |
| Luqmān was a taylor  | 71     | Nothing is lost through<br>repair but nothing<br>remains if it gets ruined  | 53  |
| man must scrutinise the<br>provenance of his daily<br>bread, A   | 11, 60 | Nothing of what afflicts<br>them in this world really<br>harms them   | 101 |
| man must take the trouble<br>of making a living and<br>not be in need of what<br>others possess, A     | 90     | O Allāh! Make him wise in<br>the Religion and beloved<br>to people  | 107 |
|  |        | O Allah, deprive me of  |     |

- abundant property and progeny 49
- O Allah, grant me mercy through them and do not deprive them because of me 101
- O Allah, keep away from me property and progeny 49
- One dirham from trade is dearer to me than ten from a donation 60
- One dirham from trade is more beloved to me than ten from a donation 61
- One must be watchful over one's income, sustenance, and residence 58
- One must scrutinise one's trade 58
- Pilgrims would travel from the four corners and support their passage by means of others 82
- Poverty is certainly the greatest death 66
- Qur'ān is the Speech of Allah and I fear less for my neck than for my shirt-button 103
- Reliance is fine but a man must not be dependent on others. He must work and make himself and his family independent 88
- Reliance is for someone to rely on Allah without there being any human being from whom he expects anything 93
- Reliance is the nexus of belief 96
- reliant one (*al-mutawakkil*) does not rely on Allah so he will be given sufficiency, The 96
- servant's reliance on his Lord is to know that Allah alone is his trust, The 96
- Serving a Muslim in need for one hour is better than congregational prayer 118
- Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Shāghūrī would choose the spoiled apples of the marketplace for himself and leave the good ones for others 95
- Sulaymān plaited palm-leaves with his own hands and ate barley 71
- Tahajjud* is the hardest thing I have ever seen 108
- Take good care of whatever property Allah bestows on you 53
- There are two delicious foods: a man's load on his back and the work of his hand 60
- There is no creature of Allah except you can take or leave what they said except the Prophet 114
- There is no good in someone who does not

|  |     |   |        |
|--|-----|---|--------|
| gather wealth with which he can repay his debt and protect his reputation  | 65  | Trade is one of the types of sustenance granted by Allah                        | 69     |
| There is no goodness in someone who does not seek wealth by which to repay his debt  | 64  | trader is better than the idler, The  | 62     |
| There is not in the whole world anything more sublime than the Book of Allah, yet He has permitted that its words be recited in seven different dialects | 122 | True believer cannot feel other than sadness in this world                      | 107    |
| They used to go on pilgrimage without taking along provisions, so a dispensation was given to them   | 81  | Truly the purest thing a man can eat is what he eats from his own earnings      | 15, 47 |
| They would go on pilgrimage, reach Makka, and ask people for handouts  | 82  | Twelve dirhams a year are enough for me   | 59     |
| They would say: 'We trust.' So they were commanded to take along provisions  | 82  | Uways al-Qarānī would pass by garbage heaps and collect rags                    | 95     |
| Those are wicked people, they want the paralysis and ruin of the world!  | 89  | We choose work! We seek after our sustenance! We do without begging!            | 91     |
| Those hearts, when they start doubting, no admonishment will benefit them!   | 97  | We take the bitter grapes and leave the sweet ones to guests                    | 95     |
| Three types of travel have been made obligatory for you: <i>Hajj</i> , ' <i>Umra</i> , and [commerce]  | 68  | Wealth is part of health  | 17, 49 |
|  |     | Were it not for money, kings would use us to wipe themselves                    | 117    |
|  |     | What a fine thing reliance on Allah Almighty is! However, one must not sit idle | 91     |
|  |     | What are we going to ride on? He said: On my neck                               | 112    |
|  |     | What do you crave so that we can prepare it for you?                            | 48     |

- What have you done to merit that He single you out? 106
- When a man has something he considers good and pure let him use it as his food and steer clear of those filthy things 89
- When a man sits without plying a trade, his ego justifies for him taking what is in the hands of people 90
- When Allah grants one of you a thousand dirhams, let him not spend it and then say ‘Allah will sustain me’ 65
- When he just sits at home I fear he will start expecting something to be sent to him 94
- When I remember death everything in this world becomes contemptible 13
- When the Prophet was sent I wanted to join together trading and worship but this proved impossible.
- So I quit trading and turned to worship 67
- When zakāt is remitted out of a treasure it is no longer called a treasure 72
- Whenever I want to read my eyesight is opened for me 101
- Why not find work? Do you want to be notorious? 95
- Work and spend the surplus of your need on your close family as charity 47
- Work the market so that you can keep family ties and give to others 47
- You must have wealth and increase it 64
- Your father memorised a million hadiths 103
- Your thought about tomorrow’s sustenance is recorded against you as a sin 119

## General Index

- ‘Ā’isha bint al-Ṣiddīq 47, 66, 112, 120  
‘Abbād b. ‘Abbād 64, 103  
‘Abbād b. Hishām 107  
‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Dūrī 21, 64, 71, 97  
‘Abd Allāh b. Abī Sa‘īd 56  
‘Abd Allāh b. Alīmad b. Ḥanbal 20-21, 23, 33, 45, 47, 56, 62, 87, 89, 99, 103, 115  
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a 118  
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr 75, 113  
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aṭā 63  
‘Abd Allāh b. Busr 86  
‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. Ya‘qūb al-Ḥubulī 76  
‘Abd Allāh b. Mansūr b. Hibat Allāh 33, 45  
‘Abd Allāh b. Mughaffal 115  
‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Rabī‘a 60  
‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣalīḥ al-‘Ijlī 63  
‘Abd Allāh b. Sarjis 114  
‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Urwa 120  
‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb 116  
‘Abd al-A‘lā b. Mus’hir 103  
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Rawwād 83  
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Alī See al-Azjī  
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far See Ghulām al-Khallāl  
‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad See al-Mājishūn  
‘Abd al-Jalīl b. ‘Aṭiyya 96  
‘Abd al-Malik al-Maymūnī 48, 50, 71  
‘Abd al-Malik b. Sa‘īd b. Hayyān b. Abjar 81  
‘Abd al-Malik b. Ziyād al-Naṣībī 80  
‘Abd Rabbih b. Sulaymān b. Zunbūr 63  
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥakam 82  
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abzā 66  
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Affān 101  
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Awf 67  
‘Abdal-Raḥmān b. Mahdī 54, 60-61, 76, 79, 110, 118  
‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Sallām 97  
‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī 56, 70, 80, 81, 105, 113  
‘Abd al-Salām b. Ḥarb 61  
‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. ‘Abd al-Wārith al-Ḥimṣī 86  
‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Aṭā al-‘Ijlī 68, 69, 92  
*Abdāl* 12, 101, 106, 107  
abstinence *see zuhd*  
Abū ‘Āsim 82  
Abū ‘Awāna 82, 114  
Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī 92  
Abū Bakr al-Marrūdhī 20-22, 46-48, 54, 56-57, 59-60, 62, 70, 73, 77, 86, 89, 93, 99-100, 119

- Abū Bakr al-Raddād 97  
 Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq 56, 58,  
     66, 103  
 Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-  
     Rahmān b. al-Hārith 115  
 Abū Bakr b. Ḥammād al-  
     Muqrī’ 55  
 Abū Bakr b. ‘Iyāsh 100  
 Abū Bakr b. Jannād 49  
 Abū Bakr b. Sadaqa 97  
 Abū al-Dardā’ 13, 67, 122  
 Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī 18,  
     21, 47, 67, 89, 93, 103  
 Abū Dharr 89  
 Abū al-Duhā b. Ṣubayḥ 72  
 Abū al-Fatḥ *See* Naṣr b. al-  
     Mughīra  
 Abū al-Ghayth 75  
 Abū Ghudda, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ  
     16, 23, 29, 62, 72, 76,  
     79, 82, 91, 93, 95-96  
 Abū Ḥamza 63  
 Abū Ḥanīfa 120, 121  
 Abū al-Hārith 89, 90-91  
 Abū al-Hasan al-Zāhid 55  
 Abū Ḥaṣīm ‘Uthmān b.  
     ‘Āsim 72-73  
 Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī 13, 18, 83  
 Abū Ḥayyān 62  
 Abū Ḥāzim 56  
 Abū Hurayra 67, 70-71, 75,  
     91, 113, 116, 120  
 Abū ‘Imrān al-Ṭarasūsī 102  
 Abū Iṣhāq al-Sabī‘ī 62, 66,  
     74-75, 100  
 Abū Ja‘far al-Hadhdhā’ 57  
 Abū Ja‘far al-Khurāsānī 54,  
     56  
 Abū al-Jamāhir Muḥammad  
     b. ‘Uthmān al-Tanūkhī  
     25, 75  
 Abū Ma‘n al-Raqāshī 65  
 Abū Mu‘āwiya al-Aswad 30,  
     95, 100, 101  
 Abū Muṣ‘ab al-Zuhrī 103  
 Abū Nu‘aym 12-13, 49, 55,  
     67, 86, 96, 107, 109, 113-  
     114  
 Abū Qilāba 17, 49  
 Abū Rāfi‘ 71  
 Abū Sa‘id al-Khudrī 66, 70  
 Abū Salama b. ‘Abd al-  
     Rahmān 115  
 Abū Ṣalīḥ 56  
 Abū Sinān Dirār b. Murra 96  
 Abū Sufyān al-Hārith b.  
     Maṇṣūr al-Wāsiṭī 96  
 Abū Umayya 25, 75  
 Abū Usāma 60, 70  
 Abū ‘Utba *see* Al-Ḥmad b. al-  
     Faraj  
 Abū Wā'il 60, 61, 102  
 Abū Yaḥyā al-Ḥammānī 103  
 Abū Yaḥyā Yazīd b. al-  
     Kalā‘ī 67  
 Abū Yūsuf 120  
 Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī 12, 19,  
     59, 102, 109  
 Abū Zabyān 64  
 Abū al-Zinād 115  
 Abū Zur‘a al-Rāzī 83, 103  
 Abyssinia 115  
 accepting government  
     subsidies and praying for  
     the ruler 17  
 Ādāb al-Hasan al-Baṣrī 108

- al-Adab al-Mufrad* 19, 53  
 Adana 80  
*adze (qadūm)* 53  
 ‘Affān b. Muslim 103  
*affluence (sa‘a, yasār)* 62, 66  
*agriculture* 11, 97  
     agrarian Asian Muslim communities 74  
     agricultural land revenue (*ghalla, kharāj*) 49-50, 63  
*Ahl al-Sunna* 11, 14-15, 22, 103, 109, 111  
*Alīmad b. al-Faraj Abū ‘Utba al-Himṣī* 57-58, 61  
*Alīmad b. al-Husayn b. Ḥassān* 74, 76  
*Alīmad b. Manṣūr b. Sayyār al-Ramādī* 21, 56, 80, 96  
*Alīmad b. Manṣūr Zāj al-Marrūdhī* 64  
*Alīmad b. Muhammad Abū al-Hārith al-Šā’igh* 91  
*Alīmad b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Şamad al-Muqrī* 57  
*Alīmad b. Muhammad b. Khālid al-Barāthī* 58  
*Alīmad b. Naṣr al-Khuzā‘ī* 103  
*Alīmad b. Yalḥyā b. ‘Aṭā* 83  
*Alīmad b. Ya‘qūb* 55  
*akħbaranā* 21, 23, 45, 123  
*Akhḍar b. ‘Ajlān* 92  
*Akhlāq Alīmad ibn Ḥanbal* 20  
 ‘Akka (Acre) 56  
 ‘Alā’ b. al-Musayyab 66  
 ‘Alī b. al-‘Abbās al-Uṭrūshī 97  
 ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 67, 72-73, 87, 116, 120  
 ‘Alī b. Bakkār 57  
 ‘Alī b. al-Husayn b. Hārūn 55  
 ‘Alī b. Maymūn al-Raqī 83  
 ‘Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī 65  
 ‘Alī b. Thābit 97  
 ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān 71  
 ‘Alī b. Zayd 71  
 alms, charity 47, 68, 71, 89  
 ‘Alqama 112  
 A‘mash 62, 64, 67, 75, 102, 114-115, 119, 120  
 al-Amīn (Caliph) 113  
 ‘Āmir b. Rabī‘a al-‘Anzī 118  
 ‘Āmir b. Sharāḥil *See also* Sha‘bī  
 ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Hamdānī al-Sabī‘ī 100  
 ‘Amr ibn ‘Alī 122  
 ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ 3, 65  
 ‘Amr b. Aslam al-Ṭarasūsī 101  
 ‘Amr b. Dīnār 81, 82, 116, 119, 120  
 ‘Amr b. ‘Isā b. Na‘āma 68  
 ‘Amr b. Qays 60, 61  
 Anah (‘Āna) 63, 112  
 Anas b. Mālik 72, 88, 92, 105, 114, 122  
*anba‘anā* 23, 123  
*Anṣār* 86  
*al-Arba‘ūn al-Ṭūsiyya* 109  
 ‘ard, ‘ardan 23, 99  
 ‘Ārim 71  
 Asad b. Mūsā 18  
 Asad, Muhammad 69

- Ash‘ath b. Shu‘ba 53, 57  
*al-Ashbāh wal-Nazā’ir* 17  
 Ashhab 107  
 Āṣim b. Abī al-Najūd 60-61  
 Āṣim b. ‘Ubayd Allāh 118  
 al-Aswad b. Salīm 58  
 al-Aswad b. Yazīd 112  
 al-Athram 20  
 al-‘Awwām b. Ḥawshab 71  
 al-Awzā‘ī 119  
 al-Azdī 58, 80  
 al-Azjī 33, 46  
 Bābūr 106  
*al-Badr al-Munīr* 83  
 al-Baghawī 103, 115  
 Baghdad 49, 63, 77-78, 90,  
     99, 111  
 al-Ba‘lī 32  
 Banū ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib 67  
 Banū Ḥublā 76  
 Banū ‘Ijl 112  
 Baqiyya 57, 61  
 al-Barāthī *See* Alḥmad b.  
     Muḥammad b. Khālid  
 al-Barbahārī 100  
 barley 71, 81  
 Bashshār b. Mūsā 64  
 baskets (*quffa*) 70  
*bay‘ mabrūr* 61  
 al-Bayhaqī 15, 18, 99, 104-  
     105  
 al-Bazzāz 21  
 beatific vision 103, 114  
 begging 56-57, 90, 91, 93  
*al-Bidāya wal-Nihāya* 104  
 Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (Bishr al-  
     Ḥāfi) 12-13, 19, 58-59, 89,  
     96, 105-107  
 Bishr b. Mūsā al-Asadī 63  
 bleacher 54  
 brickmaker 57  
*Bughyat al-Mutābi‘ li-Asānīd*  
     *Muhammad al-Rābi‘* 25  
*Bughyat al-Talab fi Tārīkh*  
     *Ḩalab* 102  
 al-Buhūtī 100  
 al-Bukhārī 3, 19, 53, 66-68,  
     70, 75, 89, 91, 103-105,  
     121  
 al-Buwaytī 103  
 canonical readings (*qirā’at*)  
     120  
 categorical obligations (*al-*  
     *fard*) 14, 56, 68, 73-76, 91,  
     94, 102, 108  
 charity *see* alms  
 Christian(s) 51-52, 106  
 congregation, congrega-  
     tional prayer 54, 118  
 Consensus 115  
 contentment (*riḍā, qanā‘a*)  
     15, 18  
 coral 97  
 Damascus 17, 25-35, 45, 95,  
     101, 108  
 Ḏamra 63, 70  
 al-Dāraquṭnī 45, 106  
 al-Dārimī 13  
 Darrān al-Ḥalabī 25  
 datepalm, dates 63, 81, 112  
*dawāniq* 54  
 Dāwūd the Prophet 66, 70  
 Dāwūd al-Ṭā’ī 15  
 day labourer 48  
 dependants 14, 54, 56, 60,  
     73-75, 88, 116

- dervishes 11  
 despoliation (*ghaṣb*) 49  
 destitution *See* poverty  
 al-Dhahabī 13, 20, 22, 82-  
     83, 92, 100-103, 109,  
     112-121  
*dhikr* 104  
*al-Dibāj al-Mudhahhab fī Ma'rifat A'yān 'Ulamā' al-Madhhab* 110  
 al-Dimashqī, Abū al-Faḍl 28  
 dinar(s), dirham(s) 11, 49,  
     54-55, 59-67, 72, 77-79,  
     92, 104, 112, 117  
 dispensation 50  
*Dīwān al-Shāfi'i* 121  
 donation 57, 60, 61  
*al-Du'afā' wal-Matrūkīn* 80  
 Dūrī *see* 'Abbās al-Dūrī  
 estate (*day'a*) 50-51  
*faḍā'il al-a'māl* 31  
*Faḍā'il al-Qur'ān* 108  
 al-Faḍl b. Dukayn (Abū Nu'aym) 81, 103, 118  
 al-Faḍl b. Ziyād 47  
 Fahmī b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Nā'imī 31  
 family *See* relatives;  
     dependants  
*faqīh, fuqahā'* 12, 59, 108,  
     121  
*fard* *see* categorical  
     obligations  
 fasting every day of the year  
     112, 120-121  
 Fayḍ b. Ishāq 58  
 financial independence *see*  
     independence
- fitna* 13, 80  
 food 11-13, 56-59, 63, 70,  
     73, 76, 79, 89, 93, 95,  
     101, 105, 112  
     —, force-feeding 95  
     —, never eating any  
         unless certain of its  
         licitness 12, 59, 102, 109  
*Four Imams and Their Schools*  
     14  
 Fuḍāla b. 'Ubayd 49  
 Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ 19, 58, 105-  
     107  
 Furber, Musa 9, 27  
*al-Furū'* 100  
 garbage 95-96, 101  
*Gharīb al-Hadīth* 100  
 al-Ghasūlī *see* Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī  
 al-Ghazālī 16  
*ghinā, istighnā'* 14, 17, 18,  
     49, 66, 114  
 Ghulām al-Khallāl 33, 46  
 gold 72, 95, 97  
 good name ('ird) 64  
*Grammar of Arabic, A* 69  
 Ḥabīb al-'Ajamī 108  
 Haddad, Gibril Fouad 12,  
     14, 27, 31, 157  
 al-Ḥaddād, Maḥmūd 27, 29,  
     49, 60-61, 67, 76, 80, 82,  
     87, 93  
*ḥaddathanā* 21, 23, 46, 123  
 Haditha 112  
 Ḥafṣ b. Ghīyāth 91  
 Ḥakam b. 'Utayba 61, 66, 69  
 al-Ḥakīm 68, 105  
 Ḥakīm b. Qays b. 'Āsim 64

- ḥalāl* 12, 14, 17, 60, 69, 102  
*Ḥammād* b. Salama 71, 72, 110  
*Ḥammād* b. Zayd 106, 110  
*Ḥammām* b. Munabbih 70  
*Ḥanbal* b. Ishāq b. Ḥanbal 111  
handiwork 11  
*Ḥannād* b. al-Sarī 18, 53  
*ḥarām* 17, 74, 93, 102  
*Haramī* b. Yūsuf 59  
*Ḥarb* b. Ismā‘il 11, 21, 53, 56-57, 60, 64-65, 70, 71, 97  
*Ḥarbī* *see* Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq  
*Ḥārith* b. Miskīn 103  
*Ḥārūn* al-Ḥammāl 12  
*Ḥārūn* al-Rashīd (Caliph) 113, 114  
*Ḥārūn* b. Ma‘rūf 71  
*Ḥārūn* b. Sufyān al-Mustamī 58  
*Ḥārūn* b. Ziyād 53, 73  
Harvesting 112  
*al-Ḥasan* b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb 55, 96  
*al-Ḥasan* b. ‘Alī b. ‘Affān 61, 63  
*al-Ḥasan* b. ‘Arafa 61, 108  
*al-Ḥasan* al-Baṣrī 19, 60, 96, 107-108, 116  
*al-Ḥasan* b. al-Faraj 72  
*al-Ḥasan* b. Ismā‘il 96  
*al-Ḥasan* b. al-Rabī‘ 60  
*Ḥāshiyat Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad* 68  
*al-Haythamī* 61, 66, 68, 72, 105  
*Ḥazm* b. Abī Ḥazm 107  
*Ḥazn* b. Abī Wahb al-Qurashī 115  
heretics 15, 79  
*Hilāl* Abū al-Mu‘allā 105  
*Hilyat al-Awliyā’* 12-13, 49, 55, 67, 96, 107, 109, 113-114  
*Ḥimṣ* 113  
*ḥinth* 88  
*Hishām* b. ‘Urwa 70, 91-92, 120  
*Hishām* b. Zayd 72  
hollow biscuit (*ka‘k*) 81  
honesty in trading 63, 70  
*Ḥudayr* 83-86  
*Ḥudhayfa* b. Qatāda al-Mar‘ashī 19, 57, 109  
*ḥulum* 88  
*Ḥurayth* b. al-Rabī‘ al-‘Adawī 68  
*al-Ḥusayn* b. Alīmad al-Kirmānī 82  
*al-Ḥusayn* b. ‘Alī b. al-Aswad 55  
*al-Ḥusayn* b. Muḥammad b. Sinān 72  
*al-Ḥusayn* b. Ziyād al-Marrūdhī 97  
Hushaym 71, 103, 106  
Ibādi 113  
Ibn ‘Abbās 67, 82, 100-116, 120  
Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr 64, 110-111  
Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, Yūsuf 27-28, 32, 34  
Ibn Abī ‘Āṣim 18, 115

- |                      |  |                           |   |
|----------------------|--|---------------------------|---|
| Ibn Abī al-Dunyā     | 18-19, 49,<br>56-57, 101   | Ibn Ma‘īn                 | <i>See</i> Yaḥyā b.<br>Ma‘īn                      |
| Ibn Abī Ḥātim        | 62, 83, 108,<br>115, 121   | Ibn Mājah                 | 47, 70, 71, 93,<br>108                            |
| Ibn Abī al-Ḥawārī    | 101  | Ibn Mandah                | 85  |
| Ibn Abī Mulayka      | 66   | Ibn Mas‘ūd                | 104, 122  |
| Ibn Abī Najīḥ        | 62, 82   | Ibn al-Mubārak            | 18, 60, 61,<br>80, 83, 105, 107, 108,<br>115, 121 |
| Ibn Abī Shayba       | 66, 70, 82,<br>110, 117, 120   | Ibn Muflīḥ                | 32, 80, 100                                       |
| Ibn Abī ‘Umar        | 53, 73   | Ibn Muḥayrīz              | 63, 111   |
| Ibn Abī ‘Utba        | 56   | Ibn al-Mulaqqīn           | 83, 108   |
| Ibn Abī Ya‘lā        | 80, 91, 100,<br>105-106  | Ibn al-Mundhir            | 62  |
| Ibn Abī Zā’ida       | 103  | Ibn al-Musayyab           | 23, 115   |
| Ibn ‘Adī             | 83   | Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn          | 32  |
| Ibn al-‘Adīm         | 102  | Ibn Nūḥ                   | 30, 63, 103, 111                                  |
| Ibn al-A‘rābī        | 18, 102  | Ibn Nujaym                | 17  |
| Ibn Aslam            | 19, 30, 47, 77,<br>109   | Ibn Qudāma                | 32-33, 45, 100                                    |
| Ibn Baṭṭā            | 46   | Ibn Qutayba               | 53  |
| Ibn Farḥūn           | 110  | Ibn Rajab                 | 94  |
| Ibn Hajar            | 9, 25, 27, 30, 80,<br>96, 106, 109, 113, 121                         | Ibn Sa‘d                  | 114   |
| Ibn Ḥazm             | 18   | Ibn Sallām                | 108, 110  |
| Ibn Ḥibbān           | 49, 83   | Ibn Shabba                | 64  |
| Ibn al-Jawzī         | 12-13, 19, 47-<br>48, 59, 76, 80, 86, 102,<br>106, 108, 114, 118-119 | Ibn Shādhān               | 45  |
| Ibn Jurayj           | 119  | Ibn Shahrayār             | 21  |
| Ibn al-Kamāl         | 33   | Ibn al-Subkī              | 115   |
| Ibn Kathīr           | 104  | Ibn Tūlūn                 | 32  |
| Ibn Khuzayma         | 109  | Ibn al-Ṭuyūrī             | 45  |
| Ibn al-Mabrad/Mibrad | <i>see</i><br>Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī                                       | Ibn ‘Umar                 | 61, 83, 84, 111                                   |
| Ibn al-Madīnī        | 103, 110, 115,<br>119-122  | Ibn ‘Uyayna               | 62, 81, 89, 103-<br>104                           |
| Ibn Mahdī            | <i>see</i> ‘Abd al-<br>Raḥmān b. Mahdī                               | Ibn Wahb                  | 110   |
|                      |  | Ibn Zurayq                | 32  |
|                      |  | Ibrāhīm                   | <i>See</i> al-Nakha‘ī                             |
|                      |  | Ibrāhīm b. Ad’ham         | 19, 54,<br>57, 60, 101, 102, 112, 119             |
|                      |  | Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq al-Ḥarbī |   |
|                      |  |                           | 20-21   |

- Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b.  
 Ja‘far                  *See* al-Sājī
- Ibrāhīm b. Sa‘d      103
- idleness                14
- Idrīs the Prophet      71
- ‘iffa                    18
- ijāza*    24, 26, 31, 33, 46, 123
- ‘Ikrima                67, 81, 82, 113
- ‘Ilal                    20
- ‘Imrān b. Ḥuṣayn    104
- incentive (*manbaha*)   64
- income    11, 14, 17, 48-49,  
           56, 58, 64, 69, 71, 77
- independence    11, 14, 17,  
           47-51, 54, 88, 91
- innovators (*mubtadi‘a*)   88
- Inquisition (*mihna*) 103, 111,  
           113, 115
- al-Insāf fī Tashīḥ Mā Aṭlaq al-*  
*Shaykh al-Muwaffaq min al-*  
*Khilāf*                100
- Iraq, *See also* Baghdad   110
- Ishāq b. Dāwūd b. Ṣabīḥ 60,  
           79
- Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāni<sup>ī</sup>  
           53, 73, 74
- Ishāq b. Manṣūr      20, 72
- Ishāq b. Rāhūyah     72, 99,  
           109, 120
- Ishāq b. Sayyār al-Naṣībī 21,  
           80
- Ishāq al-Shāhiidī     122
- al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-*  
*Tijāra*                28
- iṣlāh*                   50-53
- Islāh al-Māl* 18, 19, 49, 56-57
- Ismā‘il b. Abī Khālid   61
- Ismā‘il b. Abī Uways   103
- Ismā‘il b. ‘Ayyāsh      108
- Ismā‘il b. Yūsuf al-Daylamī  
                           96
- Ispahan                   115
- Israelites                *see* Jews
- Isrā‘il                   63, 74, 100
- istithnā’ munfaṣil/muttaṣil*   69
- Ja‘da b. Hubayra      73
- Ja‘far b. ‘Awn           64
- Jāhiliyya                102
- jamā‘a*                54
- Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulūm wal-Hikam* 94
- Jāmi‘ Bayān al-‘Ilm*      64
- Jāmi‘ li-Akhlaq al-Rāwī wa-*  
*Ādāb al-Sāmi‘*      110-122
- Jāmi‘ Ma‘mar*        113
- Jāmi‘ Sufyān*        117
- al-Jāmi‘ li-‘Ulūm Ahmad b.*  
*Hanbal*                20-21
- al-Jarḥ wal-Ta‘dil*      83
- al-Jaṣṣāṣī            49
- al-Jazīra                51
- Jew(s)                   71, 106, 113
- Jibrīl                   84, 85
- jihad                    66, 100, 102, 123
- joint responsibility (*takāful*)   18
- Jumu‘a                   28, 45, 52, 58, 68,  
           86-87, 90
- al-Junayd               76
- Juz’ Ibn ‘Arafa*        108
- Ka‘b al-Āḥbār        71, 113
- Kabbani, Muhammad  
                           Hisham                95
- Karkh                    45, 78
- Kāshif* 83, 92, 100, 102, 109,  
           112-117, 120
- Kashshāf al-Qinā‘*      100

|                                 |   |  |                        |
|---------------------------------|---|--|------------------------|
| al-Kawsaj                       | 20  | <i>Manāqib al-Shāfi‘ī</i>                                | 99                     |
| al-Kawtharī                     | 20, 29, 62                                    | <i>al-Manhaj al-Aḥmad</i>                                | 80                     |
| <i>khabar</i>                   | 23  | <i>Mansak al-Marwazī</i>                                 | 100                    |
| Khabbāb                         | 105   | Mansūr b. Salama al-                                     |                        |
| <i>kharāj</i>                   | 63  | Khuzā‘ī  | 25, 75, 102            |
| Khārija b. Zayd                 | 115   | manual labour  | 53                     |
| al-Khaṭīb                       | 18, 21, 22, 49, 50,<br>79, 107, 110, 112, 122 | <i>al-Maṣqad al-Aṛshad</i>                               | 80                     |
| <i>kirā</i>                     | 52  | al-Mar‘ashī <i>See</i> Ḥudhayfa b.<br>Qatāda al-Mar‘ashī |                        |
| <i>Kitāb al-Buldān</i>          | 63  | al-Mardawī   | 100                    |
| <i>Kitāb al-Sunna</i>           | 22, 99  | <i>Ma‘rifat al-Ṣahāba</i>                                | 86                     |
| Kufa                            | 74, 116                                       | marketplace  | 47, 48, 54             |
| land development                | 50, 51  | al-Marrūdhī <i>See</i> Abū Bakr al-<br>Marrūdhī          |                        |
| land revenue                    | 49  | marrying   | 106                    |
| lease ( <i>kirā</i> )           | 52  | — on the basis of a sura<br>of Qur‘ān for dowry          | 86                     |
| liability ( <i>ḥinth</i> )      | 88  | martyrdom  | <i>See</i> shahāda     |
| <i>Lubb al-Iubāb</i>            | 76  | Ma‘rūf al-Karkhī   | 15                     |
| Luqmān the Wise                 | 71  | Marwān al-Fazārī   | 105                    |
| <i>madhab</i>                   | 100   | material means   | 16, 17                 |
| Madina                          | 110, 115                                      | <i>Matn Abī Shujā‘</i>                                   | 9                      |
| Majd al-Dīn b. Taymiyya         | 20  | al-Maymūnī   | 21, 58                 |
| al-Mājishūn                     | 25, 75, 110                                   | memorisers of Qur‘ān                                     | 108                    |
| Makhlūf, Ḥasanayn               | 79  | merchant ( <i>tājir</i> )                                | 62, 63, 70             |
| Makhlūl                         | 116   | <i>mīḥna</i>   | <i>see</i> Inquisition |
| Makkā                           | 68, 76, 77, 82, 87, 94,<br>111, 120           | <i>mīl</i>   | 52                     |
| <i>māl</i>                      | 17, 64  | milk-fed baby lamb ( <i>hamal</i> )                      |                        |
| Mālik b. Anas                   | 105, 113, 115,<br>122                         | 79   |                        |
| Ma‘mar b. Rāshid al-            |   | Mis‘ar   | 53, 67, 73             |
| Ṣan‘ānī                         | 54, 70, 113                                   | mismanagement  | 53                     |
| Ma’mūn (Caliph)                 | 63, 111,<br>113-114                           | <i>Mizān al-I‘tidāl</i>                                  | 83                     |
| <i>Manāqib al-Imām Aḥmad</i>    | 12,<br>13, 47, 48, 80, 99                     | al-Mizzī   | 33, 45                 |
| <i>Manāqib al-Imām al-Ā‘ẓam</i> |   | money  | 55, 117                |
| Sufyān b. Sa‘īd al-Thawrī       |   | Mount Abū Qubays   | 94                     |
| 118                             |   | Mu‘ādh b. Jabal  | 102                    |
|                                 |   | Mu‘āf b. ‘Imrān  | 62                     |
|                                 |   | Mu‘ammal   | 118                    |

- Mubārak b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār  
     b. Aḥmad     *See* al-Şayrafi  
 al-Mughīra b. Siqlāb   82-83  
 al-Mughīra b. ‘Utba   116  
*al-Mughnī*           45  
*al-Muħarrar min al-Fiqh ‘alā*  
     *Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad*  
     *ibn Ḥanbal*       20  
 Muḥammad al-Bāqir   63-64  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-  
     Raḥmān          45, 60, 70  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-  
     Raḥmān al-Ju‘fī   60  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-  
     Raḥmān al-Zāhid   45  
 Muḥammad b. Abī Hārūn  
     53, 73, 74  
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-  
     Qāsim            58  
 Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b.  
     Hāzim            72  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-  
     Simsār           88  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b. al-  
     ‘Abbās al-Bāhilī   82  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr al-  
     Makhzūmī        86  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b.  
     Ḥazm             115  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Amr b.  
     Mukram           55  
 Muḥammad b. Aslam b.  
     Sālim             *See* Ibn Aslam  
 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn 47  
 Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b.  
     Mahdī            60, 120  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Isā b. Ziyād  
     al-Dāmaghānī    80  
 Muḥammad b. Isḥāq       56  
 Muḥammad b. Ismā‘il al-  
     Aḥmasī 25, 65-67, 72, 74,  
     91, 92, 120-121  
 Muḥammad b. Ja‘far    89  
 Muḥammad b. Mahdī b.  
     Ja‘far           62  
 Muḥammad b. Mu‘ādh 25,  
     75  
 Muḥammad b. Muḥammad  
     al-‘Aṭṭār        55  
 Muḥammad b. Muqātil 11,  
     60  
 Muḥammad b. Mūsā 48, 52  
 Muḥammad b. Nūḥ b.  
     Maymūn al-‘Ijlī   *See* Ibn  
     Nūḥ  
 Muḥammad b. Rāfi‘    109  
 Muḥammad b. Salīm    66  
 Muḥammad b. Sūqa    81  
 Muḥammad b. Thawr    56  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd  
     Allāh b. al-Munādī   21  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Urwa   120  
 Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān b.  
     Abī Shayba       46  
 Muḥammad b. Wāsi‘    60  
 Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-  
     Kaḥḥāl           88  
 Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-  
     Aṣamm            58  
 Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-  
     Mustamlī        105  
 Muḥannā               56  
*al-Muħarrar min al-Fiqh ‘alā*  
     *Madhhab al-Imām Aḥmad*  
     20  
 al-Muħasibī           79

|   |  |   |                                    |
|---|--|---|------------------------------------|
| Mujāhid b. Jabr                             | 22, 61-62,<br>65-66, 69, 81-82, 114                | al-Nawawī   | 9, 76, 115, 122                    |
| <i>Mu‘jam al-Buldān</i>                     | 99   | Nine Books  | 5, 24, 86, 107                     |
| <i>Mu‘jam al-Kabīr</i>                      | 49, 64   | Nu‘aym b. Ḥammād  | 103                                |
| <i>Mu‘jam al-Šahāba</i>                     | 85   | <i>Nukhbāt al-Fikar fī Muṣṭalaḥ Ahl al-Athar</i>                                      | 9, 25, 27                          |
| <i>Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wal-Umam</i> | 86   | nuts  | 71                                 |
| al-Murādī                                   | 32   | <i>Nuzhat al-Naẓar Sharḥ Nukhbāt al-Fikar</i>   | 9                                  |
| Mūsā b. ‘Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakhmī             | 65   | opium   | 74                                 |
| <i>al-Muṣannaf</i>                          | 66, 70, 82, 120                                    | obligations   | <i>see</i> categorical obligations |
| Musayyab b. Ḥazn                            | 115  | <i>Oral and the Written in Early Islam, The</i>                                       | 24                                 |
| Musayyab b. Wādiḥ                           | 53, 55, 57   | palm-leaves   | 70, 71                             |
| Muslim b. al-Hajjāj                         | 3, 19, 24, 25, 66, 71, 73, 75, 88-89, 91, 103, 116 | pearl   | 97                                 |
| <i>Musnad Aḥmad</i>                         | 3, 47, 99  | pilgrimage  | 15, 74, 77-79, 81-82, 109          |
| Mutalammis al-Ḏuba‘ī                        | 53   | poverty   | 13, 16, 18, 53, 74, 66, 93         |
| Mu‘tamir                                    | 96   | prayer, missing the congregational  | 54                                 |
| Muṭarrif b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Shikhkhīr         | 64   | Praying the <i>fajr</i> prayer with the same ablution as the last <i>‘ishā</i> prayer | 107                                |
| Mu‘taṣim (Caliph)                           | 52, 114  | Proceeds of the land ( <i>kharāj</i> )  | 97                                 |
| Mutawakkil (Caliph)                         | 105  | property  | 11, 49, 51 <i>See also</i> wealth  |
| Muṭayyan                                    | 103  | Prophet’s purchase on credit  | 67                                 |
| Mu‘tazilīs, Mu‘tazila                       | 103, 111, 114-115                                  | Prophet’s sale by auction   | 92                                 |
| Muthannā al-Anbārī                          | 89   | prosperity ( <i>yasār</i> )   | 66                                 |
| Muwaḍḍih Awhām al-Jam‘ wal-Tafriq           | 49   | puberty ( <i>ḥulūm</i> )  | 88                                 |
| al-Nābulusī                                 | 32   | pure and licit sustenance   | 73                                 |
| al-Naḍr b. Shumayl                          | 64, 109  | Qabīṣa b. ‘Uqba   | 117                                |
| Nāfi‘ Mawlā Ibn ‘Umar                       | 23, 83   | Qādisiyya   | 53                                 |
| al-Nakha‘ī, Ibrāhīm                         | 63, 82, 112  | <i>Qam‘ al-Ḥiṛṣ</i>   | 15                                 |
| al-Nasā‘ī                                   | 18, 47, 89   | al-Qa‘nabī  | 25, 75                             |
| Naṣr b. al-Mughīra                          | 55   |   |                                    |

- al-Qārī, ‘Alī 107  
 al-Qāsim b. ‘Awf 71  
 al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b.  
     Abī Bakr 23, 115  
 al-Qāsim b. Sulaymān 97  
 al-Qāsim b. ‘Uthmān al-  
     ‘Abdī 101  
*qasr al-amal* 15  
*qaṣṣār* 54  
 Qatāda b. Di‘āma 64, 68, 69,  
     107, 114, 117  
 Qaṭī‘at Umm Ja‘far 99  
 Qays b. al-Rabī‘ 63  
*qirā'a, qirā'atan* 23, 99, 123  
*qīrāt* 60  
 Qudāma b. Shihāb 61, 96  
*quffa* 70  
 quietism 14  
 Quraysh 64, 67  
*qurrā'* 59, 108  
 al-Qurṭubī 15  
 Rajā' b. Abī Salama 63  
 al-Raqqa 51, 63, 111  
 Ra’s al-‘Ayn 51  
 Rawdānī 45  
 al-Rawwās 16  
 relatives, close (*qarāba*) 47,  
     49, 74-75, 88-89, 92-93  
     See also dependants  
 reliance See *tawakkul*  
 Remembrance of Allah 12  
*al-Ridda* 103  
*Risālat al-Mustarhidīn* 79  
*Risālat al-Shāfi‘ī* 122  
 Ritter, Hellmut 28, 36  
 Riyadḥ 30  
*rizq* See food; income;  
     sustenance *rukhsa* 50  
 Sahl b. Ibrāhīm 112  
 Sahl b. Sa‘d al-Sā‘idī 86  
 Sa‘id b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz 119  
 Sa‘id b. Abī ‘Arūba 68, 69  
 Sa‘id b. Jubayr 81, 96, 114  
 Sa‘id b. Mansūr 62  
 Sa‘id b. al-Musayyab 57, 64,  
     65, 71, 113, 115  
 al-Sājī 46  
 al-Sakhtiyānī 49, 113, 114  
*Salaf* 45, 74  
 Salama b. Kuhayl 64, 116  
 Ṣāliḥ b. Alḥmad b. Ḥanbal  
     47, 53, 88, 102, 104, 115  
 Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim 96  
 Salim b. ‘Abd Allāh b.  
     ‘Umar 115  
 Salmān al-Fārisī 89  
 Samarra (Surramanra‘ā) 63  
*samā'/sami‘tu/sami‘nā* 23, 123  
*samt* 18  
 al-Saqātī, ‘Alī and ‘Abd al-  
     Ghanī 31  
 al-Saqātī, al-Sarī 102, 105  
 Sāra bint ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-  
     Kāfi al-Subkiyya 33  
 Sarī al-Saqātī 102, 105  
 Sarī b. Yaḥyā 48, 116  
*sawīq* gruel 81  
 al-Ṣayrafī 22, 33, 45  
 scavenging (*liqāt*) 57, 119  
 Schoeler, Gregor 23  
 scrupulousness about the  
     licitness of food 102, 109,  
     119; See also *wara‘*  
 self-sufficiency See independence; wealth

- |   |                                    |                                       |  |
|---|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Setia, Adi                                | 28                                 | Six Books                             | 5, 18, 117   |
| Seven <i>aḥruf</i>                        | 122                                | <i>Siyar A‘lām al-Nubalā’</i>         | 13, 20, 22, 101, 102, 114, 116, 119, 121   |
| Seven Jurists of Madina                   | 115                                | al-Subaynī, Mu‘tazz                   | 31   |
| Shabāba                                   | 82                                 | subsidies                             | 50   |
| al-Sha‘bī                                 | 81, 97, 116                        | Sufi(s), sufism                       | 14-19, 47, 79-80, 105, 107, 109  |
| al-Shādhakūnī                             | 122                                | Sufyān (al-Thawrī)                    | 11, 19, 53-56, 60-62, 65-66, 71, 73, 79, 96, 100-101, 107, 109-110, 112, 117-118 |
| al-Shāfi‘ī                                | 107, 110, 119, 120, 122            | Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna                     | 16, 19, 22, 55, 62, 72, 97, 100, 102, 104, 119                                   |
| al-Shāghūrī, ‘Abd al-Rahmān               | 95                                 | Sulaymān the Prophet                  | 71   |
| shahāda, shahīd                           | 68, 115                            | Sulaymān al-Khawwāṣ                   | 19, 57, 95, 109, 119   |
| al-Shām                                   | <i>See</i> Syro-Palestine          | Sulaymān b. Yaśār                     | 115  |
| Shaqīq b. Salama                          | 102                                | <i>Sunan</i>                          | 19, 20, 83, 113, 117   |
| <i>Sharaf Aṣḥāb al-Hadīth</i>             | 107                                | <i>Sunna Notes</i>                    | 27, 31   |
| <i>Sharḥ ‘Ayn al-‘Ilm</i>                 | 107                                | sustenance                            | 11, 22, 54, 58-59, 61, 69, 72-74, 77, 86-91, 105, 119 <i>See also</i> food       |
| Sharīk                                    | 67, 106, 110, 116                  | Suwayd b. ‘Amr al-Kinānī              | 82   |
| Shaybān al-Rā‘ī                           | 15                                 | al-Suyūṭī                             | 76   |
| Shu‘ayb b. Ḥarb                           | 11, 54, 56, 57, 97                 | Syro-Palestine (al-Shām)              | 12, 51, 112  |
| Shu‘ba b. al-Hajjāj                       | 61, 64, 66, 69, 100, 110, 114, 117 | <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā’</i>             | 108  |
| <i>al-Shukr lillāh</i>                    | 101                                | <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila</i>            | 80, 91, 100, 105, 106  |
| Shumayt                                   | 107                                | <i>al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā</i>            | 114  |
| Shurayḥ b. Maslama                        | 96                                 | <i>Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘īyya al-Kubrā</i> | 102, 115   |
| <i>Sifat al-Ṣafwa</i>                     | 86, 102, 106, 114, 119             | al-Ṭabarānī                           | 49, 61, 64, 68   |
| Şiffin                                    | 51                                 | al-Ṭabarī                             | 62, 121  |
| al-Silafī                                 | 45                                 | <i>Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāz</i>            | 109, 118, 121  |
| <i>Şilat al-Salaf bi-Mawṣūl al-Khalaf</i> | 45                                 |                                       |  |
| <i>Silk al-Durar</i>                      | 32                                 |                                       |  |
| silver                                    | 72, 95, 96, 97                     |                                       |  |
| Simāk b. Ḥarb                             | 67                                 |                                       |  |
| al-Sindī                                  | 68                                 |                                       |  |
| Sīrat al-Imām Alīmad                      | 102, 104, 115                      |                                       |  |
| sitting idle                              | 56-58, 86-91, 93-94                |                                       |  |

- al-Ṭāḥawī 23  
*Tahdhīb al-Kamāl* 96  
*Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 96, 106,  
  109, 113, 121  
Tāhir b. Muḥammad al-  
  Tamīmī 58  
*Talbīs Ibīlīs* 19, 59, 76  
Tālib b. Qurra al-Adhanī 80  
*al-Tamhīd li-mā fil-Muwatṭa'*  
  *min al-Ma'ānī wal-Asānīd*  
  111  
*Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb* 80  
*al-Taqrīb li-Sunan al-Bashīr*  
  *al-Nadhīr* 115  
*Tārikh al-Islām* 112  
*Tārikh al-Madīnat al-*  
  *Munawwara* 64  
*Tārikh Baghdād* 50, 112  
*Tārikh Ibn Ma'īn* 97  
*al-Tarkhīṣ fil-Ikrām bil-Qiyām*  
  122  
Tarsus (Ṭarāsūs) 63, 102  
*al-Taswiya bayna Ḥaddathānā*  
  *wa-Akhbaranā* 23  
*tawakkul* 14-18, 58, 88, 93-97  
  \_\_\_\_\_, false 79, 86-91  
*tawassul* 100  
Ṭawūs 15, 49  
taylor (*khayyāl*) 71  
teaching wages 49  
Thābit 71  
Thawr 75  
al-Thawrī See Sufyān  
*al-Tibyān fi Ādāb Ḥamalat al-*  
  *Qur'ān* 9  
al-Tirmidhī 16, 20, 47, 70,  
  88-89, 92, 93, 104, 108  
tobacco 74  
trade 11, 14, 48- 49, 54, 57-  
  58, 60-62, 66-67, 69, 78,  
  86, 90, 94  
trust in Allah See *tawakkul*  
truthfulness 17, 69, 93  
al-Tustarī 76  
Tyre (Ṣūr) 62  
'Ubayd Allāh b. Mūsā 55  
'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Utba 115  
'Al-Ulaymī 80  
'Umar b. 'Alī 58  
'Umar b. Dharr 65, 81  
'Umar b. al-Khaṭāb 53, 58,  
  64-68, 96, 102, 107, 113  
'Umar b. Ṣāliḥ 12  
Umayyads 64  
Umm Salama 107  
'Uqba b. Mukram 76  
'Urwa b. al-Zubayr 23, 70,  
  91, 92, 115, 120  
'Uthmān b. 'Affān 63, 67,  
  113  
'Uthmān b. 'Urwa 120  
Uways al-Qarānī 51, 95, 97  
'*Uyūn al-Akhbār* 53  
voluntary pilgrimage 74  
voluntary worship (*nawāfił*)  
  109  
Wabara 61  
Wahb b. Jābir al-Khaywānī  
  75  
Wahb b. Munabbih 66  
Wakī‘ b. al-Jarrāḥ 18, 25,  
  53, 61, 65-68, 72-75, 91-  
  92, 120-122  
*wara'* 16, 18, 20, 102; See  
  also scrupulosity  
al-Warakānī 62

- |  |  |  |                                     |
|--|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| Warqā'                                   | 62, 82   | Yemen                                      | 54, 76, 82                          |
| Wāthiq (Caliph)                          | 103  | Yūnus b. Abī Ishāq                         | 66                                  |
| weak reports in support of<br>good deeds | 31   | Yūnus b. ‘Amr                              | 100                                 |
| wealth                                   | 3, 14-18, 49-50, 59,<br>65-69 <i>See also</i> property         | Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Hādī                      | <i>see</i><br>Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī      |
| wool ( <i>ṣūf</i> )                      | 107  | Yūsuf b. Asbāṭ                             | 14, 55, 56,<br>117                  |
| work                                     | 11, 14-18, 45-50, 54-<br>61, 65, 70, 77, 86-91, 95-<br>97, 109 | Yūsuf b. al-Ḥusayn al-Rāzī                 | 105                                 |
| working for hire ( <i>kirā</i> )         | 52, 58   | Yūsuf b. Mūsā                              | 49, 74                              |
| Wright, William                          | 69   | Yūsuf b. Muslim                            | 57                                  |
| Yahyā al-Jallā'                          | 12   | al-Za‘farānī                               | 99, 119                             |
| Yahyā b. Abī Ṭālib                       | 21, 68, 69   | Zakariyyā the Prophet                      | 71                                  |
| Yahyā b. Ādam                            | 61, 62   | Zakariyyā b. Yahyā al-Nāqid                | 21                                  |
| Yahyā b. ‘Affān                          | 63   | Zakariyyā b. Yahyā (Abū<br>Yahyā al-Nāqid) | 48                                  |
| Yahyā b. Ja‘far                          | 92   | Zayd b. Thābit                             | 107                                 |
| Yahyā b. Ma‘īn                           | 83, 97, 101,<br>110, 122                                       | Zaynab bint al-‘Awwām al-<br>Asadiyya      | 120                                 |
| Yahyā b. Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān                 | 64-<br>65, 103, 121  | Zoroastrian(s)                             | 106                                 |
| Yahyā b. Ṣalīḥ                           | 86   | Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām                        | 91, 92                              |
| Yahyā b. Ṭālib al-Anṭākī                 | 55   | Zubda the sister of Bishr                  | 106                                 |
| Yahyā b. ‘Urwa                           | 120  | Zufar b. al-Hudhayl                        | 120                                 |
| Ya‘qūb b. al-Mughīra                     | <i>See</i><br>Abū Yūsuf al-Ghasūlī                             | Zuhayr b. Ṣalīḥ b. Aḥmad                   | 52                                  |
| Ya‘qūb b. Sufyān                         | 21   | al-Zuhd                                    | 13, 15, 18, 53, 71,<br>96, 102      |
| Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf al-<br>Muṭṭawī‘ī         | 49   | <i>zuhd, zāhid</i>                         | 13-18, 32, 89,<br>102, 106-107, 116 |
| al-Ya‘qūbī, Aḥmad b. Abī                 |  | al-Zuhri                                   | 23, 119, 120                        |
| Ya‘qūb b. Wādīḥ                          | 63   |  |                                     |
| al-Ya‘qūbī, Muḥammad                     |  |  |                                     |
| Abū al-Hudā                              | 24   |  |                                     |
| Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī                          | 99   |  |                                     |
| Yazīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-<br>Aṣbahānī      | 72   |  |                                     |
| Yazīd b. Ibrāhīm al-Tustarī              |  |  |                                     |
| 60                                       |  |  |                                     |



## About the Translator

Born and raised in Lebanon, Dr. Gibril Fouad Haddad went to school in England and the United States then studied the sciences of *Shari‘a* for nine years in Damascus. He holds scholarly licenses (*ijāzas*) from 150 shaykhs and has authored three dozen books and hundreds of articles in Islamic hermeneutics, doctrine, hadith, biography and heresiology. His latest work is *The Muhammadan Light in the Qur’ān, Sunna, and Companion-Reports*. He lives in Brunei Darussalam.

